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A history of architecture

Edward Augustus Freeman

Fraser

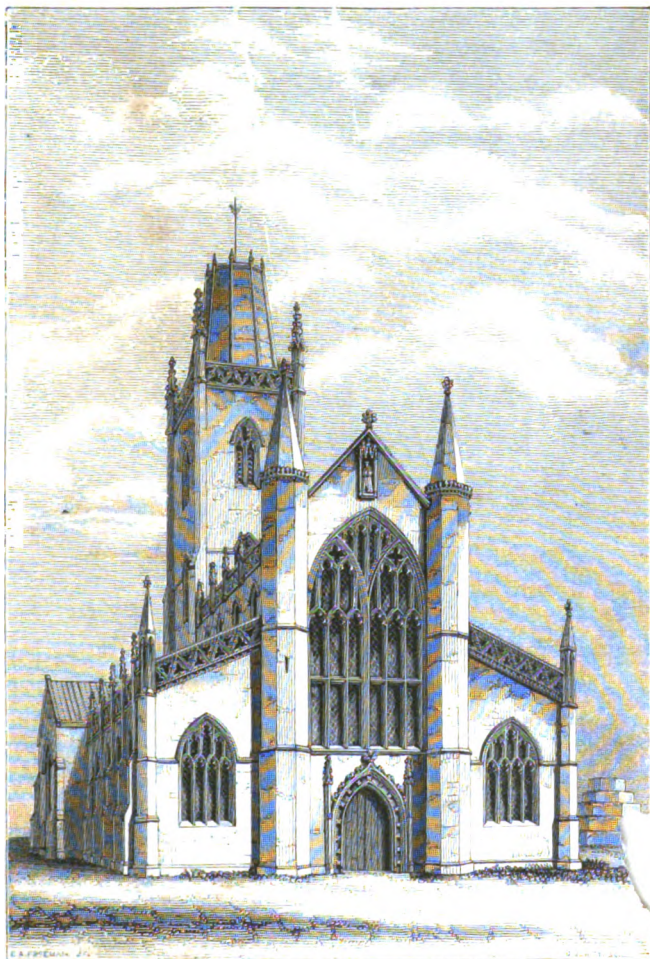
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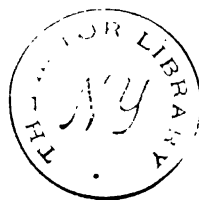
October 2nd, 1851-

A

HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE.



WEST FRONT OF YATTON CHURCH.
SOMERSET.



A

HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE.

BY

EDWARD A. ^{Augustus} FREEMAN, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

"The surest test of the civilization of a people—at least as sure as any—afforded by mechanical art is to be found in their architecture. * * * * * There is no object * * * which calls out more effectually the inventive talent of the artist. The painter and the sculptor may display their individual genius in creations of surpassing excellence, but it is the great monuments of architectural taste and magnificence that are stamped in a peculiar manner by the genius of a nation."—PASCOTT'S *Conquest of Peru*.

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TO THE
REV. WILLIAM BASIL JONES, M.A.,
FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
(FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE,)
THIS VOLUME
IS INSCRIBED,
IN MEMORY OF THE PLEASURE AND INSTRUCTION
DERIVED FROM MANY HAPPY HOURS
SPENT IN HIS SOCIETY.

P R E F A C E.

THE present work was originally designed to form a volume in "Burns' Select Library," and was written at the suggestion of the proprietor of that series. Circumstances which have since occurred have caused it to appear in another form, and be transferred to another publisher. These would not have been alluded to even in this brief manner, had it not seemed advisable to account for the delay thus caused in the publication of a work which was advertised full two years ago, and the manuscript of which was actually complete in January, 1848. And still more, the circumstances under which the work originated, and those which have since occurred, have had a considerable effect upon the character of the volume itself.

Had not its composition been proposed to me from a completely external source, without any suggestion or thought on my part, I do not say that a work of this kind might not at some time or other have appeared from my hand, but it might not have been for many years, and would probably have been on a somewhat different plan. Indeed it was not without deliberation that I undertook a work that might seem presumptuous in one who has indeed given his best attention to architectural study, and has some familiarity with the examples of his own country, but to whom those of other lands are known by report alone, and to whom several branches of the subject were total darkness. To Hindoo, Egyptian, or Saracenic architecture I had then given no attention whatever. A work projected by myself would have probably contained no reference to the two

former, and regarded the latter only in its relation to the Gothic style. These then I had, in familiar phrase, to *get up* for the purpose, as some notice of every definite style of architecture was required by the plan as proposed to me. But I considered that there was probably no person familiar alike with every branch of the subject; any one would have had specially to get up some part of the work; the only difference would be as to the extent and importance of the portions so to be treated.

This division of the subject, coinciding nearly with the First Part of the First Book, will be found, I am afraid, not very satisfactorily treated. It was a wearisome task, as I had to search through volume after volume¹ containing copious dissertations on the antiquities of the different nations referred to, but with very little direct information as to their architecture considered in the point of view in which I regarded it. It is astonishing, for instance, how little knowledge of Egyptian architecture is to be gained from the numerous recently published travels in the east. The information on the subject which they do contain is involved in such a mass of historical and ritual speculation as to be almost impossible to unravel. Not that I mention this in disparagement of the authors, who were not bound to adapt their works to my requirements, but simply to explain the difficulties of my own position. And after all, the direct architectural information which they contain appears immense, when we consider what our knowledge of Gothic architecture would be, were we left to derive it from books of travels in western countries. In the case of Egyptian architecture, by far the most important of the ante-Grecian forms, I should have been in great perplexity, but for the help afforded by the excellent little manual of Egyptian Antiquities which will be found so often referred to.

¹ Among these were many books of travels, &c., not especially devoted to architecture or antiquities, besides others, as the works of Sir C. Fellows and Mr. Fergusson, and Professor Orlebar's Paper on Saracenic Architecture, more directly connected with the subject in hand. I have not made a list, as

most of the works will be found quoted or referred to. "Stephens' Researches in Central America" is the only book occurring to me at this moment, from which I derived much information, which is not directly alluded to in the text or notes.

This portion of the work was unavoidably written while I was absent from Oxford, and had but few books at hand. I had indeed taken notes, of which the reader will occasionally see the results, from Wilkinson, Belzoni, and the great French work on Egypt, but the other was the only one which I had actually with me, and I found it indeed invaluable.

After all I must profess my opinion that researches into these forms of art are of comparatively little value.¹ "The monuments," says the author quoted in my title page, "of China, of Hindostan, and of central America"—Egypt might fairly have been added—"are all indicative of an immature period, in which the imagination has not been disciplined by study, and which therefore, in its best results displays only the ill-regulated aspirations after the beautiful which belong to a semi-civilized people." But this is not all; they are aspirations never to be gratified; these styles, like the nations among whom they arose, stand isolated and disconnected from each other, scarcely at all influencing the arts of other races. The true history, as a continuous stream, of architecture, just as of politics, philosophy, and literature, commences with "immortal Greece." From that source, traced on through Roman, Arab, and Goth, every event influences every other that succeeds it, and the latter ones cannot be understood without the study of those which preceded them. But the preceding forms, excepting so far as they throw light on the origin of the arch,—excepting also the Pelasgian remains, which are historically, though not artistically, in close connection with Grecian architecture—are little more than mere objects of curiosity, with only an occasional and incidental bearing upon the general history of architecture and of the human mind.²

The other difficulty, that only a small portion of the subject could be treated of from personal observation, is of the same

¹ Of course I do not here mean to include Arabian Architecture, without which Gothic cannot be understood.

² While this volume was passing through the press, Mr. Layard's discoveries at Nineveh have opened a most extensive and interesting

field of research in this direction. His work I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing; the account of it in the Quarterly Review contains a mass of information relating to sculpture, but very little bearing directly upon architecture.

kind ; though I may have seen less than many others, no one—not even the late Mr. Hope—could have seen everything to which it would be necessary to allude in a work of this kind. Of many—even Christian¹—countries the architecture cannot be said to be explored at all. But all the most important forms may be well studied in engravings. And I have never hesitated to criticize a building from engravings, with as little hesitation as if I had myself seen it, because in the case of the very many English churches which I have first studied in this manner, and afterwards visited, I have never found the judgment which I had formed by the more imperfect process, altered upon personal inspection. When I commenced this work, Lincoln and Exeter were known to me only as Amiens and Cologne still are ; since then I have visited both, and the result of the examination has been the confirmation of the opinions which I had previously formed.

The real difficulty is not in the criticism of particular buildings, but in the danger of not having the most typical structures, or a sufficient number of them, brought before the critic, and of his consequently generalizing from insufficient premises. But this applies equally to all information in every study not derived from personal examination, to any opinion on an historical character pronounced by one who has not himself laboured through the treasures of the State Paper Office. I state the facts—say of German Romanesque—on the authority of Mr. Petit and Dr. Whewell ; if I differ from the former as to the comparative merit of German and Norman architecture—one of the very few points in which I have the bad luck to differ from the first of all architectural critics—I form my opinion from the testimony of him from whom I disagree, necessarily the most favourable for his own side.

In one respect I find myself widely differing from the author who has done most to elucidate the particular subject at issue. I allude to Mr. Webb's favourable estimate of the Italian Gothic contained in his *Continental Ecclesiology*,² and in a paper on the

¹ Of the buildings of Poland, Hungary, and even eastern Germany, (with the single exception of Vienna) I have not been able to

obtain any information at all, and of those of Russia and Scandinavia only a few disjointed fragments.

² This work, as well as Mr.

adaptation of Gothic architecture to tropical climates previously printed in the Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society. On my side I have Mr. Hope, whom I have quoted at length, and implicitly Mr. Petit, who appears to have considered Italian Gothic as hardly worthy of notice. The entire forsaking of the principles of the northern Gothic which that style exhibits is simply a matter of fact; only Mr. Webb argues that it is the necessary result of the climate. This is extremely probable; but the inference which I should thence make is, not that Italian Gothic is a legitimate style, to be approved, and even (in our tropical colonies) to be imitated: but, that Gothic architecture is a style only to be employed in northern countries, and not to be introduced into lands where the necessities of the climate require a complete departure from its first principles.

And now, at the risk of repeating what I have said in the General Introduction, I cannot help making a few remarks on the principle which I have pursued in the treatment of what is the real staple of the work, the parts devoted to Romanesque and Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture. The general idea which I have all along kept in my mind during the composition of the present work is, briefly and simply, the Historical Study of the Art of Architecture. This was the view which I have always set before myself in my own studies, and as it is one which I could not but see had been neglected, I was proportionably glad of the opportunity offered me of drawing it out in a more formal and public manner. Architecture, in some of its forms, has been of late years a very popular study; in fact I am by no means clear that its popularity has not been injurious to it. The other arts, from the very circumstance of their being less popular, have been pursued in a way much more calculated to evolve a genuine knowledge of their principles. Painting and sculpture, among the comparatively few who have devoted their attention to them, have never lost the character of arts, they have never been reduced to matters of antiquarian or ecclesiolo-

Poole's "History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England," was published after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have however, as the reader will see, re-

ferred to them in several places. Had they appeared sooner, my obligations would have been very extensive.

gical research. Now architecture has ; of all the standard works on the subject I can point to two only which at all approach to that treatment of it for which I am contending. Mr. Hope's "Historical Essay," with all the additional light which has been since thrown upon the matter, and notwithstanding some questionable views, must undoubtedly remain the foundation of all future architectural inquiries. Not only was it the earliest work manifesting any grasp of the subject, but it manifested such a grasp, so wide and enlightened, as but few who tread in the same path can expect to rival. On a different plan, but equally valuable to the architectural student, is the first volume of Mr. Petit's "Church Architecture." Mr. Petit has not taken altogether the same broad view of the subject, nor so directly connected it with other kindred studies, and with general history, but he is perfectly unrivalled in his appreciation of the real meaning and principles of successive styles, and his skill in distinguishing what is really an essential feature, what is merely accidental; a distinction requiring a keen philosophical eye, and which can never be gained from the most complete collection of antiquarian facts. And where Mr. Hope fails us, Mr. Petit supplies his place. The strength of the former is in the history of Romanesque ; on the subdivisions of Gothic architecture he supplies but little, and he manifestly undervalues the contributions of our own country to its development. In his treatment of the former branch lies the first of Mr. Petit's many excellences ; and the latter charge can only have been brought against him by the merest insular prejudice. From these two authorities I have learned far more than from all other architectural writers put together ; how continually they have been in my hands and thoughts the reader will at once perceive from frequent references, and from the numerous cases where I have preferred using their words rather than my own. And I confess my obligations to Mr. Petit's work the more readily, because from most of the suggestions contained in the second volume, I must, as an ecclesiologist, dissent.

These two great works I consider to form the sum and staple of our direct architectural literature ; the labours of other writers are often of immense subsidiary value, but do not in the same way grapple with the subject itself. Next to Mr. Hope and Mr. Petit, none can hesitate to place the elaborate productions

of Dr. Whewell and Professor Willis ; but though of equal merit in their own line, I cannot consider that line quite such a high one ; at all events it is not the same, nor so directly connected with my own view. Their writings treat as much of building as of architecture ; their aim is to exhibit the mechanical rather than the artistic view. It may be that, such not having been the direction of my own studies, I am not attracted by mathematical figures and diagrams ; but I hope every one will acquit me of any wish to undervalue authors to whom the present work is deeply indebted, though in a less degree than to the two great masters of strictly architectural science to whom I have already referred.

Of works dedicated to the elucidation of detail, as the Glossary, and those of Rickman and Mr. Bloxam, it is almost needless to say, that while myself, in common with every other architectural student, would have found it no easy task to acquire much architectural knowledge without their aid, they do not bear directly upon the present stage of my investigations. Of Mr. Rickman no one can speak without respect ; I think some late writers have undervalued the importance of his researches ; but if so, it is but a natural re-action from the exaggerated praises of injudicious friends. To say, with his recent Editor, that " notwithstanding the numerous works which have appeared within the last five or six years, it is surprising to observe how very little real information has been added to that which Mr. Rickman collected and digested," almost implies forgetfulness that the four distinguished authors enumerated in the two last paragraphs had ever penned a line. On the other hand, Mr. Paley's " Manual of Gothic Architecture," though somewhat unsystematic and ill-digested, has afforded me many most valuable hints ; and I must not omit to mention the collateral help afforded by many collections of examples, and descriptions and illustrations of particular buildings, though of course such works do not bear directly upon the main subject. And there are also numerous works, relating to individual branches of the study, whose aid, in the investigations of those portions, has been invaluable. I would especially mention the writings of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gally Knight.

I am persuaded that the Ecclesiological movement, deeply as I sympathize with its most important bearings, has been in

some respects prejudicial to the view of architecture for which I am contending. Young as it even now is, it has gone through many phases, and though it has now quite overgrown, at least in the hands of its leading supporters, that narrow insular exclusiveness with which it set out, the tendency of those times is not yet altogether worn away. It was a natural re-action at the time when it arose to carry the feeling in favour of Gothic architecture too far, and almost to anathematize even the study of any other; Norman Romanesque happily escaping by being considered as a Gothic form. But the mere historical study of Grecian and Roman architecture is still viewed by some with suspicion, although it stands to reason that an acquaintance with it is absolutely necessary to any real knowledge of our own styles. And as to the comparative merits of the different forms of Gothic, much narrowness and prejudice still exists in many quarters. Which style is the best is surely a matter of taste; I have myself a very strong opinion that on the whole Perpendicular is the best, and I have given my reasons for that belief; but I have endeavoured to do justice to every form of the art, and I flatter myself that I cannot be fairly charged with running down any style. But I am often sorry to see writers for whom I have a high respect, going out of their way to express their dislike of a particular form of art, and appearing hardly capable of mentioning any one Perpendicular building without dragging in some uncalled for expression of depreciation.

These evils are however entirely incidental; and no one can deny the direct and most important benefits conferred upon architectural science by the Ecclesiological school. I do not think they can be fairly charged with introducing into architectural studies matters unconnected therewith; architecture is only an incidental feature in their pursuits, just as it is in those of archaeologists. The two studies, differing in other respects, have a common point, and each, viewing that common point from its own position, treats it accordingly. If I consult the "Ecclesiologist" on an architectural question, I have no right to complain if I find the information I am searching for side by side with an article on Gregorian Chants, any more than if a similar search in the "Archæological Journal" brings me into the vicinity of a discourse on bronze celts or Roman pottery. Neither the chants nor the celts have any interest for myself personally,

but both are legitimate objects of study treated of in their proper places.

For I would repeat, at the risk of weariness both to myself and my reader, that it is not to archæology or archæologists that I object, but to the position which they assume. Their researches are valuable and necessary : it is only to the hostile tone which they often assume, the uneasiness and jealousy which their organ invariably displays at any thing like the deduction of a principle or a theory, that any objection can be brought. And against this hardly any objection can be too strong. I may allude to one subject in which I certainly have no sort of personal bias. The nomenclature of the Ecclesiologists I neither employ nor approve ; but the manner in which any use of it is met with in certain quarters, the frivolous, contradictory, often spiteful objections which I have seen and heard brought against it, would be almost enough to make me introduce it even now into every page of my book, had I not myself objections to it far stronger, as I hope, than those to which I refer.

It is not archæology in its right place, as something subordinate and ancillary, but archæology exclusive, assuming, claiming a rank which does not belong to it, which is at this present moment the bane not only of architecture, but of a yet nobler study, of history itself, as relating to the times and people most deeply interesting to us. A newly discovered Anglo-Saxon charter is recorded as a curiosity side by side with a newly-discovered "low-side window ;" contributions to early history which cannot be too highly valued, daily accumulate ; documents, facts, customs, are continually discovered and elucidated ; but that to which these are but the means, the enlivening of the dry bones, the connection of the scattered fragments, is yet wanting ; a HISTORY in short of our own early days which may rank with that first of all records of the past, Dr. Arnold's History of Rome, is not so much as promised. Indeed within the last month or two its name has been monopolized by a treatise of antiquities, most important indeed as such, but very far from being a "History of the English Commonwealth."¹

¹ Mr. Kemble's "Saxons in England ; a History of the English Commonwealth till the period of the Norman Conquest." I ought in the above remarks to except the name of Sir F. Palgrave, but even

Between these two views, the ecclesiological and the archæological, I have endeavoured to steer clear. For a justification of my view with regard to the former, I would again refer to the first chapter of the work itself; but I think that a few words may perhaps be necessary with regard to the directly ecclesiastical tone adopted in these pages. The case is simply this; the subject was one which necessarily involved many ecclesiastical allusions; and in the mode of making them it was altogether repugnant both to my feelings and principles to affect an indifference which did not exist, or in any way to conceal my real mind. But every expression of this kind which the work contains, will be found to be merely in the nature of allusions; controversy or dogmatic statement there is none; and the allusions are almost entirely to those broad facts of Church history necessarily introduced by the subject, without reference to theological and ritual minutæ which would certainly have been out of place. And, after all, I have done no more in speaking in that way which I hold to be just of certain systems and individuals, than is done by writers of contrary opinions, who take every opportunity of decrying and undervaluing them, often going very far out of their way for that purpose.

At the same time I must freely confess that, on reviewing my book, I have found passages whose literal sense I should be sorry to have pressed too far. I chiefly refer to expressions of admiration for, perhaps even, in some degree, of regret for the loss of, mediæval systems and feelings. These come almost naturally from an architectural student, who deals almost exclusively with the brightest aspect of those days, and is strongly tempted to look upon the times which witnessed the noblest developments of his own art, with a view which a calmer and more extended view of history will not justify. I am inclined to think that every age has its own virtues and its own vices; and if the middle ages, ages in which every thing was on a grand scale, exceeded us in the former, they did so in the latter also; if richer in deeds of heroism and saintliness, they are more pro-

his greatest work is hardly a history, and many of his brilliant theories are undoubtedly questionable.

Still it were almost better to err in his company than to be correct with the merely antiquarian school.

lific also—even after the events of the past year—in blood, rapine, and general disorder. If modern Europe hardly admits of a St. Louis or an Alfred, neither is any Christian throne likely to be now disgraced by a Rufus or a John.

The reader will probably remark that in the consideration of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, nearly all the references and examples are confined to ecclesiastical buildings. The cause of this is to be traced to a process of abscission which it was found necessary for the work to undergo before its appearance in its present form. In order to reduce the size of the volume some omissions were absolutely required. Accordingly, besides smaller retrenchments, I expunged five whole chapters, which bore the headings, “Of General Architectural Nomenclature,” “Of the Nomenclature of Churches,” “Of the Secular Architecture of the Romanesque Period,” “Of Gothic Churches,” “Of Gothic Secular Architecture.” These chapters were, on the whole, less connected with my design as a *History of Architecture* than any others, though the two latter were upon some of the most interesting subjects in its whole compass. They contained a review of the general principles of the two classes of structures, regarded directly as buildings, as to their outline, proportion, and general effect, with as little reference as possible to considerations of particular styles. This was a view which I thought was better kept separate from the historical sequence of styles; and it is almost self-evident that this last must be studied in the churches of each period. From these only can we learn the real principles of the style, as nowhere else, not in the most gorgeous secular erections, is the same free scope afforded for their development. This is true of Gothic, notwithstanding the stately monuments of secular architecture which remain to us in that style, the halls of our own royal palaces, and the more superb *Hotels de Ville* of the Netherlands. And much more it is the case with Romanesque, a style of which nearly all the existing remains are either ecclesiastical or military, and from the latter class of buildings, deeply interesting as they are on many other grounds, scarcely any strictly architectural lessons can be derived.

If any one should ask why, instead of sacrificing these far more interesting portions of the work, I did not rather decide on the omission of those early chapters which I have already stated to

contain much less important matter, I can only answer that, had I myself originally designed the book, such would probably have been the arrangement adopted, but in the scheme of the treatise, as actually written, these chapters formed an integral part, which the others hardly did, and could not have been omitted without changing the whole plan, and making far greater alterations in detail than were involved in the course which I have followed.

Several of the views contained in this volume had been previously propounded by me in papers read before the Oxford Architectural Society, and letters inserted in the "*Ecclesiologist*." In some cases, where I had seen no occasion to change the sentiments thus expressed, I have embodied the entire paragraphs in the present work. One idea however which I had imagined was here promulgated to the world for the first time, either by myself or by any one else—the view of rest and immobility as the leading principle of Romanesque, in opposition to the horizontal and vertical extension of Grecian and Gothic respectively—is, I have been informed, to be found in Lord Lindsay's *Letters on Christian Art*, a work which I have not as yet read, and from which I certainly did not borrow it directly or indirectly. I will not add either the uncharitable Latin, or the boastful English, proverb adapted to such occasions; coincidences of idea of this kind can hardly fail to arise among writers treating on the same topics. One subject, one of the most interesting branches of the study of Gothic art, is purposely omitted. Of the tracery of windows, the point which has always most especially attracted my own attention, I have said no more than was absolutely necessary. This was because I have in hand, and have nearly completed, a minute treatise on that subject, the substance of several papers read before the Oxford Society, which, but for the peculiar circumstances attending the publication of this volume, would probably have now been before the world, and which, if the present undertaking prove in any degree successful, may still, I hope, some day appear.

The present work is not illustrated; there was at one time an intention of adding engravings, but the idea was relinquished, as to illustrate it completely was altogether out of the question, and a partial and inadequate illustration seemed even more objectionable than none at all. The public has thus lost, to my

great regret, some of Mr. Petit's beautiful etchings, the use of which he most kindly offered me, and which would have adorned one of the omitted chapters. But, though a complete illustration of the work would have been highly desirable, the way in which the subject is here treated renders its loss less objectionable than it would be in a treatise of detail, or a record of existing specimens. A single engraving has been retained as a frontispiece, representing one of the noblest specimens of parochial Gothic architecture in all England, and exhibiting, what is so rarely met with in parish churches, even of great pretensions, a west front really deserving the name of an architectural composition.

Besides my obligations to Mr. Petit, my acknowledgments are also due to G. W. Cox, Esq., S.C.L., Scholar of Trinity College, and Secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society, for many beautiful and elaborate drawings made when the idea of illustrations was entertained. And I must also express my best thanks to the Rev. W. B. Jones, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, for access to the magnificent Library of that Society, without which I should have been involved in great difficulties in the earlier part of my undertaking.

My work is now done ; and if it be accepted as any contribution towards fostering the study of architecture in its proper position as a branch of mental philosophy, it will have been effectually done. I need not describe the anxiety with which I commit to the world my first production of any consequence ; but, whatever be its destiny, I shall at least carry with me the satisfaction of having honestly laboured, to the best of my powers, to promote an end which I believe to be of no slight importance to the highest of all human sciences, that of the human mind.

OAKLANDS, DURSLEY,

February 10, 1849.

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History of Architecture.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

DESIGN AND SCOPE OF THE WORK.

It is a truth which seems at last to be generally admitted, that every effort of human art must seek for richness and beauty, not in extraneous sources, but in the due adorning of those features which are required by the necessities of construction or utility ; it is a principle grounded on the analogy of the natural and moral world, and confirmed by the evidence of the greatest works of every art. But it is architecture that has ever afforded the widest scope for its development, and it is farther an art whose very existence depends upon this principle ; on this ground alone must architecture rest its claim to the place it holds among the noblest arts. Painting and sculpture owe their origin to the higher cravings of man's nature ; their bare existence implies some sort of mental refinement, some feeling, however rude and uncultivated, of taste and elegance, in a word, some appreciation of beauty. But these feelings, which to the subordinate arts are the very sources of existence, are to architecture only the causes of superadded excellence. Its primary source is to be found in our merest physical wants, in those indeed which we share with the inferior animals. As most of these seek out some dwelling, natural or artificial, so man, even in his

most unpolished state, requires a shelter from the midnight chill and the noon-day heat, though it be no better protection than can be afforded by the rudest tent or hut, or even by the natural caves of the earth. Architecture then, in its widest sense as the building art, differs from other arts, in being not merely essential to man for the full scope of his highest faculties, but required for his physical comfort, almost for his very existence. And surely it is a wonderful application of the principle above alluded to, that from such an origin should arise the very first of arts, that which has produced the most thrilling and awful works of human genius; which at once requires the least technical knowledge for its general appreciation, and opens the widest field for minute inquiries and philosophical speculation. The art whose name bespeaks it the chief and queen of all, which presses the noblest of other arts into its service and bends them to its will, is thus at once their beginning and their end; the most lowly in its origin, the most glorious in its perfection; slowly and gradually has it risen, enriched by the contributions of every age, and creed, and nation, from the log-hut of the savage, we might say from the lair of the wild beast, to the fairest works of mere human and heathen beauty; and by a more soaring flight has attained to the unearthly majesty of the Christian Minster, to the lordly tower of Canterbury, the heaven-bound spire of Freyburg, and yet more glorious still, to the mighty canopy of pillar, and arch, and vault, spread as though by angelic hands over the shrine of England's royal Confessor.

It is however to this difference of origin between architecture and the other fine arts, and to the practical consequences to which it has given rise, that we must attribute the still prevalent disinclination to allow the art and its professors the lofty place which they may rightly claim. The professors of the art are commonly looked upon through an atmosphere of bricks and mortar, estimates and contracts, which almost wholly obscures their character as artists in the very highest sense. And with architecture considered as a subject of amateur study, it cannot be denied that it does not at all hold in public estimation the position which is so justly allowed to painting and sculpture. The latter are recognized as matters of taste and intellect, as subjects of the higher powers of the mind, while

architecture is still looked upon as a mass of dry, technical detail, a subject to be got up as a lesson, not to be taken in by the noblest faculties of the understanding and the heart. The so-called classical architecture which was so long exclusively in vogue had been so incumbered by cramped and rigid rules that it could offer but few charms to those who would embrace the pursuit as an elegant accomplishment. And now that men's eyes are beginning to be opened to the far higher beauties which adorn the works of our own race and our own religion, architecture is still seldom looked upon in its true light. The pursuit has been almost exclusively confined to two classes, neither of whose views has any necessary relation to its study as an art.

First come the mere antiquarians, who look on buildings solely in the light of antiquities, with whom the most sumptuous display of Grecian or Gothic art has, after all, scarcely any other interest than that raised by a barrow or a kistvaen, a rusty dagger, or an antique potsherd. Much has been said with great justice as to the positive irreverence to which this treatment of the subject has led, where consecrated buildings have formed the matter of inquiry. Antiquarianism certainly exposes its professors to many temptations on this score, but they are merely temptations, and do not imply any inherent vice in the study. The elder school of antiquaries numbered among its members many of the best men of their days, those who cherished whatever love and reverence remained for the mediæval Church. It is only in quite recent times that what deems itself a more enlightened archæology has taken up a position which must be looked upon as distinctly and formally hostile to religion. And it is clear that this line of study must be equally void of fruit, when we look to its influence on the scientific and artistic study of architecture. It is manifest that to the mere archæologist the antiquity is everything and the art nothing; the charm is not found in beauty of form or richness of execution, but in the number of years which the specimen has existed; a modern work, even of the most consummate excellence, is of course looked on as valueless. I am far from attributing this feeling to all who call themselves archæologists, but I say without hesitation that it is the natural tendency of simple archæology thus to confine its view; wherever archæologists rise above it, it is

not as archæologists, but by virtue of some other character which is united therewith in their own individual persons. From those then whose architectural studies are thus limited we cannot look for the discovery of principles of art, but at best for an historical science of detail, classified according to dates. And it would be most ungrateful in the architectural student to deny the immense benefits conferred on his pursuit by such diligent inquirers as the late Mr. Rickman, and the author of the Glossary of Architecture, who have with such perseverance cleared away the difficulties from his path, and paved a way to the highest summits of his inquiry. Our only ground of complaint is, that some writers of this school forget that they have only paved a way for others; they not only stop short at a certain point themselves, but grudge that any one else should go farther; they have supplied facts, and quarrel with those who would thence develop principles; they have provided a complete but lifeless body, and look with suspicion on any attempt to infuse a vital principle into the inert mass; they are like a dry plodding annalist shaking his head and looking grave at the "fanciful" reflections of a Thucydides or an Arnold; or a pedagogue whose mind had never taken a flight beyond accident and chance, looking aghast at the extended philology of the Comparative Grammar.

On the other hand is a nobler race, the authors of the great ecclesiological movement; the men who have fought the battle of the Church in her material sanctuaries, and have, amid suspicion and slander, stood forth so manfully to convert the modern preaching-house into the Catholic temple of prayers and sacraments. Nothing is farther from the thoughts of the present writer, himself a humble fellow-labourer in the great work, than to cast a moment's slur upon their high and holy cause. But still it is manifest that their efforts do not necessarily tend to promote the study of architecture as an art. The first phase of ecclesiology was simple antiquarianism, raised indeed by the end at which it aimed, and the objects with which it was conversant; but still, in its theory a mere technical acquaintance with the sacred buildings of a particular age, in its practice a careful reproduction of their features. The science has now taken a bolder flight; Christian temples of all ages and all countries are to be studied;

painting, sculpture, music, history, are all pressed into its service; a single period is no longer put forward as the necessary standard of perfection, but new developments of Christian art are confidently looked for. But it is manifest that this is not the direct study of architecture, but one which I freely allow has a much better and higher scope; it is essentially religious, and only incidentally artistical. It occupies a field at once too wide and too narrow for our present purpose; it of course excludes all direct attention to any but ecclesiastical architecture; and moreover includes a large variety of subjects which have no place in our present investigation. Everything that can add fresh solemnity to the Christian temple and its worship comes within the natural and legitimate scope of the ecclesiologist; every fine art, almost every mechanical one, has there its place: the painter, the sculptor, the glass-stainer, the goldsmith, the worker in brass and iron, all contribute their share; the proprieties of Church-arrangement, the refinement of Church-symbolism, the splendour of vestments, the harmony of music, the deep treasures of ritual antiquity, are all appropriate branches of his studies. But it is manifest that while our present design opens on the one hand a wider field for investigation, as including the architecture of all ages and nations, it is on the other more narrowed in its range, as it has no connection whatever with any of these latter pursuits unless when they happen incidentally to affect the style and proportions of strictly architectural works.

I will now endeavour to define the view of architecture which I propose to take in the present work. The origin of this art being, as was before said, to be found in the simplest necessities of life, it is at once brought in close connection with what are sometimes called the industrial, as opposed to the fine arts. In painting or sculpture these have no share, or if any, it is one almost as purely subservient and as utterly lost sight of, as paper-making or printing, considered as subsidiary to the production of a poem or a history. But the architect's design, though itself the creation of pure intellect, is carried out by mere manual and mechanical labour, the designer himself has no share in its execution, nor need he, as far as his art is concerned, know anything of the means whereby it is effected. Though

from prudential reasons, it is expedient that an architect should be at least a theoretical builder, though in point of fact he cannot otherwise originate a good design ; still the two characters are in idea entirely separate. Hence then building and architecture are totally distinct ; the former is mechanical, industrial, depending wholly on physical laws of construction ; the latter intellectual, refined, depending on the laws of taste ; the one is a matter of bricks and mortar, strains and pressures ; the other of grace, harmony, and proportion. Architecture then is itself, like all fine art, the creation of the higher part of man's nature, and subject to the influence of the intellectual and moral workings of individuals, ages, and nations ; there must therefore be a science of architecture as a branch of the general science of the human mind ; there is of course also a science of building, of construction ; but while the science of architecture is mental and even moral, that of building is merely mathematical and physical. Architecture then is the soul, building the body ; and as the body influences the soul, as bodily health conduces to high spirits, if not to intellectual vigour, while bodily sickness often weighs down and paralyses its spiritual companion, so is the intellectual art of the architect liable to be improved or deteriorated by the mechanical art of the builder. Without its aid he cannot place his own conceptions before the eyes and minds of others ; hence architecture is ever liable to be influenced by physical as well as by moral causes ; the requirements of the particular use for which an edifice is designed, the necessities of climate, the nature of materials, the state of physical and constructive science, even that of the mere mechanical skill of workmen, all influence the architect, and produce most important effects upon the nature of his composition. High moral causes, political and religious circumstances acting on the mind of the age as well as of the individual, give the quickening spirit of the style ; to these we owe the mystic awe of Indian and Egyptian art, the pure but still earthly beauty of the Grecian temple, the solemn massiveness of the Romanesque Cathedral, the soaring majesty of its Gothic successor : all these spring from the treasures of the heart ; but lower causes may act either for good or for evil upon their development in construction and detail. The historical philosophy of the science, the arrangement of succes-

sive styles, not by mere dates, but by the pervading and animating principle of each, must be conversant with both classes, and trace how their workings on the mind of successive peoples are exhibited in their architectural works.

Granting then the claim of architecture to rank among the fine arts, and therefore of its science to have a place among the branches of mental philosophy, it would appear to follow that there is room for another mode of treating the subject, totally distinct from both archæological and ecclesiological researches, and yet of course involving much that is common with both. And it is this that I shall endeavour to carry out in the present work; it will be an attempt to trace, as simply and popularly as the subject will admit, the history of the art of architecture in its developments among all nations. It will look at once to the artistic principles of successive styles, and the manner in which they are carried out in their more prominent details, and will farther seek to be a general contribution to the history of man and his nature. For it will be at once concerned with the philosophy of a most noble art, and with the effects produced on that art by the events of history, as exemplifying the character and position of nations, and the working of political and ecclesiastical circumstances. The former branch of the subject has been ably treated with regard to the ecclesiastical architecture of western Europe, by Dr. Whewell, Mr. Petit, and the late Mr. Hope; and the latter path has been opened, though not to any very great extent, by the last clear-sighted and indefatigable author. Still more has been drawn out incidentally in the works of strictly ecclesiological writers; but it is still merely incidental; the actual aim of their writings, as was stated above, is different and indeed higher, and of course their speculations must be in the main confined to Christian architecture. In the present work, on the other hand, the aim will be to give in the strictest sense a history of the science of architecture, as a contribution, however humble, to the philosophy of art; it will not be, unless incidentally, either archæological or ecclesiological; its aim will be in short to trace, with as little reference as possible to extraneous matter, the historical sequence of styles as distinguished by their pervading principles, and the influence wrought upon them by those circumstances which mould the

mind and manners of a nation. Attention will be rather given to the grand features of outline and composition than to the minutiae of detail, unless when the latter really illustrate principles of art. Detail has been already sufficiently treated of in several works, all of which have their use, while no *popular* work—unless the thoughtful and truly original volumes of Mr. Petit can be ranked under that head—has yet paid much attention to the former.

It is intended to embrace, as far as possible, the architecture of all nations which have any pretence to a regular or definite style. But a few remarks will here be necessary, lest undue expectations should be raised from these words. It has been the ecclesiastical architecture of western Europe, the Romanesque and Gothic styles, to the elucidation of which the writer's time and thoughts have ever been chiefly devoted. Both from this cause, and from the greater interest which they possess to ourselves, both on account of their supereminent merit, and of their being the architectural language of our own race and religion, the consideration of these forms of the art will form the most prominent feature in the work. The author's remarks on other styles which have engrossed comparatively little of his attention, and whose monuments he has had no opportunity of investigating personally, will be little more than a compilation from other writers; while the architecture of Christian and Teutonic Europe will demand all that his own diligent observation and reflection will afford.

On the same principle that I abstain from entering on the fascinating field of pure ecclesiology, I endeavour to avoid digressions to those subjects which stand in nearly the same relation to Pagan architecture as that science does to that of Christendom. Where, as in Greece and Italy, the purposes of a religion and habits with which we are generally familiar exercise a visible effect upon architecture, a brief notice of those purposes manifestly comes within the scope of this treatise. But to involve himself, as there is great temptation to do, in recondite and doubtful speculations as to the exact nature and design of Celtic, Egyptian, and Indian monuments, and in the mazes of those distant mythologies which to the majority even of highly educated people are almost entirely unknown, would be profitable neither

to the author nor to his readers. I must confess that though these are subjects for which, as for all knowledge of the mind and history of man, I entertain a high respect, I have as yet been content to admire them at a distance ; mere allusions moreover to matters not fully understood are profitless, and the questions themselves are such that a real explanation of them could not be fairly looked for in a treatise on architecture, even were the writer as competent to elucidate them in all their bearings as he feels himself to be the reverse. In like manner I take the main outlines of European history for granted, and allude to events in their results ; as, though I have here the greatest possible temptation to diverge from my subject, the direct teaching of history is clearly no part of my present province.

The author can imagine that some persons for whose opinion he has a high respect, may object to the plan of combining heathen and Christian architecture in a single work, perhaps even to any investigation whatever with regard to the former. But the history of any art would be manifestly imperfect, were it confined to one of its forms, even though that one be the noblest and most sacred of all ; art does not cease to be art and to demand investigation as such, because it has been sanctified to a higher use ; any more than the new birth of the Christian precludes the examination of his merely human nature in the science of moral philosophy. The historian of a Christian state does not consider himself precluded from treating of its secular affairs, the universal historian is not debarred from recording the fate of heathen nations, because the fortunes of the Church should be the thought uppermost in the mind of every Christian writer. A treatise of ecclesiology is like a formal theological work, in which secular affairs may indeed be alluded to, or even, under some circumstances, occupy a prominent place, but are still something purely incidental, and subordinate to the main object ; a treatise of architecture is like a work of general history or philosophy, which has no direct theological aim, but which, whenever it has occasion to allude to the history or dogmas of the Church, will be careful to treat them with becoming reverence. And this, or something analogous, will be the aim of the present volume ; though not a treatise on religious buildings, but on buildings generally, churches, when they have to be introduced,

will have their holy use fully recognized. The one view cannot be rightly made to exclude the other; and farther, a perfect knowledge of ecclesiology can hardly be obtained without a certain acquaintance with some at least of the Pagan styles; the development of Roman and Gothic architecture is almost a necessary branch of ecclesiological science, and this cannot be rightly understood without estimating the great importance of Grecian art as in some sort the parent of both, and the probable influence of Saracenic models on the formation of the Gothic style.

There seems in truth to be some danger of the ecclesiological movement leading in one class of minds to a narrowness not unlike that which it has supplanted. As the last generation despised all architecture except that of the Greeks and Romans, and was content to abide in ignorance of what it despised; there is now a tendency at work to make the ecclesiastical architecture of the middle ages the centre of an equally confined view. That Gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art, that it is the only style to be adopted for modern structures in western Europe, the present writer would never dream for a moment of calling in question; but this surely does not preclude us from looking on the architecture of other nations as being at least as curious and valuable a study as other researches of the like kind. It is only a very prejudiced eye that can look with suspicion on the historical study of the science, and the elucidation of its general principles; the architectural monuments of every nation cannot fail to throw light upon its history, institutions, and modes of thought; of some indeed, their architectural works are all that remain. Unless the page of history is to be for ever closed, unless the classical student is to be deemed a real restorer of the heathen world in which he dwells; unless the works of Homer and Æschylus are to be cast from us as an idolatrous defilement; the legitimate study of the architecture of heathen nations, along with their history, poetry, and philosophy, cannot be consistently prohibited. We may gaze with awe on the mystic circles of Celtic antiquity, and the gigantic piles of India and Egypt; we may contemplate the palmy days of Athens, and view in imagination her agora thronged with heroes, bards, and sages, as we trace the

parallel development of her intellect in the matchless grace, the calm serenity of her Parthenon ; we may in contemplating the magnificent though corrupted structures which Roman art has scattered through so many lands, bring more vividly before us the mighty power of the eternal city, we may dwell among her consuls and her Cæsars, her warriors and her orators ; without a wish to deprive our own yet more glorious style of its paramount sway over Teutonic Christendom ; we may still hold that all that Athens or Rome could rear must yield to the far higher and holier splendours of Rouen and Cologne ; and that the portico of the virgin goddess, with all its stately columns and living friezes, is to be admired, but not imitated, in a land which has reared and consecrated the tall arcades and soaring vaults of our Lady's church of Salisbury.

The general design then of the present work is an attempt at a philosophical history of the science of architecture ; it will be its aim to exhibit its artistic principles, and their political and religious symbolism—the symbolism I mean of styles and whole edifices, not that of mere details. Construction, detail, archæology, ecclesiology, will only occur as subordinate and incidental ; and technicalities will be avoided as much as possible. To form either a hand-book of details, or a catalogue of particular buildings, is no part of my design, but to exemplify the successive developments of the art ; to challenge for it a higher place in the history of the human mind than can be claimed for mere antiquarian curiosity, and a more extended field than the philosophically confined, though morally beautiful and ennobling, scope of pure ecclesiology.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF THE DIVERSITY OF STYLES IN ARCHITECTURE.

THE most remarkable feature in the history of architecture, and that which, more than any other, renders its study at once a field for antiquarian research and an important branch of

mental philosophy, is the fixedness with which each age and nation adhered to its own form of the art. At some periods, indeed, as in the best days of Gothic skill, architecture was in a state of almost incessant flux, new forms were continually introduced, and each was consequently of short duration ; still these forms were but developments and applications of a higher and more widely extended principle, and each had a period of predominant, if not universal, prevalence, however soon it may have yielded to another. In short, every architectural work, both in its general conception and in its remotest detail, bears on it the stamp of its own age and country ; not only is it often possible at once to recognise their impress with almost the certainty of historical testimony, but a deeper investigation will show that these forms are not merely so many antiquarian facts, but the exponents of some pervading principle, to be sought for in the peculiar circumstances of the age and country whose stamp they bear.

Not that this is at all peculiar to architecture ; it is common to it with all works of imaginative, and some even of mechanical art. The great works of the painter and the sculptor, the inspired effusions of the poet and the orator, all bear the impress, not only of his own mind, but of that of his age and nation. The necessities of climate and differences of geographical position produce no inconsiderable influence on manners, arts, and intellect ; the mountaineer and the inhabitant of the plain, the rustic and the dweller in cities, have each their distinguishing and unmistakable characteristics. But, beyond all this, an unfathomable law of Divine Providence has divided the offspring of our common parents into widely distinguished races : there are certain definite marks stamped deep upon the physical and moral constitution of each, upon their habits, their tone of thought, and, above all, their language, by which individuals and nations may be at once referred to their respective branches of the great human family. And a yet more deep and mysterious decree directs the fates of these several races and nations ; one great law, indeed, of progress and decay marks out for the people, no less than for the individual, the successive stages of existence,—its youth, its manhood, and its age,—but the circumstances of nations at different periods are almost infinitely varied ; habits,

constitutions, religions, rise and fall ; themselves the offspring of national character, they strongly re-act upon the expression of that character in philosophy and art. Many of the diversities in art have, of course, a more direct and palpable source in intentional adaptations to outward circumstances ; but deeper causes than this are at work. We can trace in the arts and literature of a nation the mysterious symbolism of its inner mind, the unconscious expression of its position and tone of thought, according to the same hidden law which has caused those very diversities of which these works become the visible and tangible expression.

Thus far all that has been said is equally true of all intellectual works ; and the history of architectural diversities is but one instance among many of the working of a general law. There are, however, one or two circumstances more peculiarly connected with our present subject which may require a more extended mention.

The successive changes in architecture are certainly more easily traced than those of the kindred products of the human intellect. The influences above described, although equally certain in all, and following in the main the same general laws, cannot be so clearly and definitely marked in those productions whose origin and seat are wholly in the mind, and of which the senses are nothing more than conditions of their communication to others, as in those which are altogether confined to a sensible expression. Such are the arts, and of these architecture affords a more easy means for the recognition of this influence than painting or sculpture. Not that the changes and their causes are known with less certainty to scientific students of the two latter arts, but simply that in the case of architecture the fact of their existence is more prominently brought before the mind of an unscientific person of ordinary observation. The public eye is necessarily far more conversant with works of architecture than with either of the others, so that men cannot fail to be more in the habit of observing and criticising them. But besides this, the features of outline and proportion, and the main character of a style as exemplified in a church or other large building, are in themselves such as to strike more readily upon the eye than the characteristics of the several schools of painting

and sculpture ; even the minute detail, I should imagine, is something more tangible and definite, and more readily reduced to rule than the differences of tint and expression in a picture or a statue. Hence, among other reasons, we find persons who have given no special attention to the subject more inclined to form opinions upon the merits of architectural designs, and even to dictate to the professional artist, than is commonly the case with regard to the other two branches of the fine arts.

And farther, architecture is, partly from its being the only one directly grounded upon utility, partly from its more close connection with purely material and mechanical processes, more liable than the rest to be influenced by strictly physical causes, by mechanical discoveries, and by the direct requirements, as distinguished from the unconscious working, of habits and religion. To these causes the more plain and tangible diversities in architecture—those by which the dates of buildings are generally ascertained—are in most cases to be referred. Let us take for instance two purely physical causes, climate and material. It is manifest that a hot and a cold, a moist and a dry climate require different kinds of edifices ; so different kinds of materials—wood, stone, brick—require different modes of construction. Climate has thus a direct influence ; it also influences habits, and these again have an effect on architecture. Religion again exercises a still more powerful effect over the highest developments of the art, as in almost every age and nation the temples of its worship have been the buildings to which the noblest efforts of architecture have been devoted. Different forms of worship require different plans and arrangements ; and these not only exercise a most powerful influence upon outline and proportion, but farther tend to mould the actual style of architecture, by bringing forward such forms as will best harmonise with their necessary requirements. Mechanical discoveries also affect style ; they may be first introduced from mere convenience, perhaps even with an endeavour to engraft them on a style to whose principles they are altogether repugnant ; yet the living plastic skill of the true architect soon seizes on them, works them into his system, clothes utility with beauty, and makes the feature which is of the main importance in construction contribute a proportionate share to the decoration of the building. The old system, now worn out, falls

to the ground, and the new one, just grown to maturity, springs forward into perfect life, in all the freshness and brilliancy that bespeaks the latest-born offspring of the Divine spark within the mind of man.

We see in the heart of man two discordant principles holding his actions as it were in equal balance between them : the love of novelty which ever gives so unspeakable a charm to the fresh, the unknown, the wonderful ; and that power of habit and association which is found sufficient to endear to us even objects which otherwise would have but little claim upon our affections. And this latter power has not been without its influence on architecture ; combined with its antagonist it has even proved a fresh source of variety. For every nation, as has been powerfully traced out by Mr. Hope,¹ continues to reproduce under fresh circumstances, with fresh materials, the one original type to which it was at first habituated ; a process which produces a third form, differing from that in which either material would naturally be treated. Thus, after so many ages, the Chinese reproduces in wood, stone, or porcelain, the tent of his nomad ancestors ; the temples of Egypt and Hindostan still recall the subterranean cavern ; Greece in her most glorious days, in her most sumptuous temples, in all their stately columns of the choicest marbles, amid the elaborate grace of their mouldings, the living foliage of their capitals, the friezes where Lapithæ and Centaurs are called to breath and motion by the chisel of a Pheidias, did yet preserve unchanged, undisguised, the one unvarying model,² the wooden hut of Pelasgus ; yet more, the soaring nave of a Gothic minster, in the clustered and banded stalks of its lofty pillars, the curling leaves of its capitals and cornices, the interlacing arches of its fretted vault, the interminable entwinings of its tracery, the countless hues that sparkle from roof, and chapter, and wall, and window, recalls no work of man indeed, no tent, or hut, or cavern, but the sublimest temple of natural religion, the awful gloom of the deep forests of the North ; the aspiring height of the slender pine, the spreading arms of the giant oak, rich with the varied tints of leaf and blossom, with the wild birds' song for its anthem, or the rustle

¹ Historical Essay, Chap. IV.

² Id., p. 27.

of the breeze in its waving branches for the voices of the mighty multitude or the deep notes of the solemn organ.

These forms and associations naturally remain stamped upon the mind of the art, till some great mechanical discovery, some mighty revolution in politics or religion, some complete revulsion in taste and feeling, brings its influence, whether sudden or gradual, whether by violent change or slow development, to bear alike upon outline and detail. Hence arise transitional styles, periods of progress from one principle to another, which will in most cases be found to consist in an attempt to engraft a new principle of construction on an old principle of decoration. The building enjoys the mechanical advantages of the new discovery, while the forms of ornamental detail remain as before, until the new constructive principle has worked out for itself a more harmonious system of decoration. The forms produced by these transitional periods are generally, in an æsthetical point of view, the most unsatisfactory of all: it is only great size and magnificence, or great excellence of proportion and detail, which can at all counterbalance the inharmonious and inconsistent foundation on which they are reared. But in an investigation of the history of the art no periods are so replete with interest; every stage, every minute detail, illustrates the combat of antagonist principles; the struggles of the decaying style, receding step by step from the scene of its ancient sovereignty; the sure though slow inroads of its successor, first grasping the main features of construction, then gradually bringing within its power the details of shaft, and capital, and moulding, till all are fused into a perfect whole; are at once a subject of most curious inquiry, and one tending to point out more strongly than any other part of their history, the real animating principles of successive styles, and to supply also a valuable commentary on the two great rival principles in the human mind itself.

Having thus endeavoured to point out the principal causes to which the diversities of architectural styles are to be referred, I shall next endeavour to divide and group together upon consistent principles the styles employed by the chief nations of the world, from the earliest works that can pretend to anything like an architectural style to the ever-varying productions of our own day.

CHAPTER III.

DIVISION OF STYLES IN ARCHITECTURE.

THE term style is one in itself not very easy to define, and its use in architecture is more especially vague, as it serves to denote alike the most comprehensive and the most minute divisions under which architectural works may be arranged. These classes too, both great and small, may be considered under several aspects; they may be regarded as simple chronological and geographical landmarks, merely denoting, as an archæological fact, what sort of buildings were erected in a particular country at a particular time; or they may be looked upon as arrangements of such facts according to some easily recognized circumstance of construction or detail; or finally as exemplifications of some pervading principle, of which details are merely more or less perfectly developed instances. These three principles of division constitute a gradually ascending scale; and the last is undoubtedly the highest and most scientific, and should, wherever it is possible, be the only one employed. But it is equally clear, from a general view of the science of architecture, that none of the three will admit of an universal application; we cannot make an arrangement wholly philosophical, and it would be undesirable to make one wholly historical and antiquarian. The architecture of some ages and countries is far less known to us than that of others; for instance, we have not, and cannot have, the same intimate acquaintance with the details and historical sequence of Indian or Egyptian architecture, as with those of Grecian, Roman, or Gothic. Distance of time and place, want of records, destruction of actual monuments, comparative ignorance of the manners, feelings, and institutions of the ages and nations whose works we are examining, all tend to affect the accuracy of our investigations into the varieties of architectural detail. But besides this purely relative view, the respective characters of the styles themselves make some far more valuable than others, as a field for scientific investigation, and actually more capable of being made so. In a survey of the world's history some periods,

some nations, stand forth conspicuous above others for their intrinsic splendour, and their influence in moulding the minds and institutions of other lands and peoples. Some nations draw at once all eyes to them as the centres of political and moral learning; their history is full of life and activity, mighty events destined to influence the fates of future ages crowd upon us in every page; others present a long dreary catalogue of men without actions, or of actions without effects, and belong rather to the ethnological and philological inquirer, than to the historian or the moralist. What is the whole history of the East, the countless dynasties of China, India, and Egypt, with all their vast dominions, their early civilization, their fixed and ancient institutions, but a barren catalogue of kings, and priests, and conquerors, when it is viewed side by side with one living and stirring page of Greece, or Rome, or mediæval Europe? One word from one man in a little town of Greece or Italy, had oftentimes more effect on the future destinies of the human race than all the laws and victories of a thousand Shahs or Pharaohs. And thus too with their architecture; all styles are not of the same merit, all do not equally contain a principle of life, all are not equally the expression of an idea; partly from these inherent differences, partly from external causes, all have not the same historical importance in influencing the arts of future ages. It hence follows that all do not present the same facilities for an investigation of their pervading principles of construction, decoration, and symbolism. The vivid, piercing intellect of the Greek, his inherent perception of grace and loveliness, have given birth to a style of art unrivalled for simple elegance and dignity; the stern practical mind of the Roman, his calm, deliberate, unyielding energy, could by the moral power of his institutions, and the very name of his mighty empire, mould alike the institutions and the arts of Europe for ages after his political power had crumbled in the dust. These were the works of heathendom, the breathings of unrenewed, though not abandoned nature; the offspring of the keen intellect, and the indomitable will. It was for other lands and another race to manifest the influence of a higher and a holier principle, to give birth to a style that speaks not of the things of earth, but whose every stone should breathe of the religion of heaven. As the

art of ancient Greece was the purest and loveliest child of mere intellect and taste, of mere human aspirations after the noble and the beautiful, that of mediæval Christendom is the holiest offspring of moral power, the yearnings of a heart renewed from above, and in every thought and affection soaring heavenwards. These then are the two points which irresistibly draw our thoughts towards them ; the Greek, with his earthly loveliness, the Teuton with his almost heavenly awe ; the one faultless grace, the other soaring majesty ; the one telling of the faint glimmerings of heathendom, the other kindled by the full blaze of the Church's light ; the one in a word human, the other divine.

These two styles then, as being beyond all others the true expression of a great pervading idea, must ever remain the centres of deep and philosophical investigation in architecture ; and of the two, Gothic, as the expression of the deeper and nobler idea, even more so than its rival. The productions of other styles, as being less full of thought and meaning, cannot be equally susceptible of such an examination ; other forms of art strike rather from the result of adventitious circumstances, from the bulk and proportion, the grandeur of outline and richness of detail, displayed in individual buildings, or even by some remarkable characteristic of the style of itself, than directly as the produce of mind. We must therefore in a general arrangement of styles of architecture, call in other considerations ; and the two great principles of mechanical construction which pervade all architectural works, may be most conveniently taken as the types of the two groups under which we may primarily arrange all styles of architecture. These are the ENTABLATURE and the ARCH, two forms of construction which will be found to form an absolutely exhaustive division ; and of which the two great and prominent styles before referred to are respectively the most perfect developments. As two straight lines cannot form a mathematical figure, so two uprights, be they walls, posts, or pillars, can hardly constitute an architectural work ; circumstances will continually occur, in which two points must be connected, and that not by a third wall, but by something supported by the points to be connected. The different ways of effecting this constitute the grand distinction which is at the root of all varieties of architectural style. The entablature effects the union

by simply laying on the top of the two uprights, a third horizontal mass, held together by mere cohesion; the uprights being placed, as Mr. Pugin says,¹ "just so far apart that the blocks laid on them would not break by their own weight." It is manifest that this is totally independent of material; the construction is precisely the same, whether the materials be beams of wood or blocks of stone. In the other form, that of the arch, the connection is effected, not by a single block kept together by cohesion, but by a series bound together, without visible support, by a wonderful law of the mechanical powers. This again is abstractedly independent of material; we might conceive an arch whose *voussoirs* should be wedges, not of stone or its substitute brick, but of wood; practically however it is confined to the former, as to employ timber in this manner would be a useless expenditure of labour, when the entablature construction offers so much greater facilities for the employment of this material. For it must be remembered, that it is not the *form*, but the *construction*, of the arch which we are here considering; the arched form is common in timber-work, but it will be found that such an arch is not formed of *voussoirs*, but is merely cut out of one or two pieces of wood, supported by their own cohesion; so that what in the decorative construction is treated as an arch, is in the mechanical, really an entablature.

As all buildings must be constructed on one of these two principles, architectural styles may be most naturally divided accordingly; and I shall therefore make these two grand divisions the basis of the arrangement to be pursued in the present work. Every definite style of architecture has for its animating principle of construction either the entablature or the arch; its forms and details adapt themselves to this construction, and it is the different ways in which this construction is sought to be decorated, and the different degrees of excellence attained by each, which constitute the subordinate distinctions among the members of the two main groups. All architecture which does not disguise its construction, but seeks for ornament in the enrichment of its real mechanical features, is so far good; it is honest and therefore satisfactory, however rude may be the construction, however uncomely the style of ornament. A transitional period, which

¹ True Principles, p. 9.

employs one system of construction and another of decoration, is thus far inconsistent and unsatisfactory ; whether it be dishonest or not, depends on the question whether the inconsistency arises from intentional deception, or from the mere force of previous habit.

The question of the first introduction of the arch is one of the very greatest interest, and at the same time of the greatest difficulty. We are so accustomed to the employment of this feature on all occasions, and have every day before us spaces of such vast extent connected by its means, from the railway tunnel to the vaulted roof of the Minster, that we find it hard to realise the position of civilised nations, possessing a finished and graceful style of architecture, employing it on the erection of sumptuous and magnificent edifices, and yet totally ignorant of any mode of connecting walls or pillars save by the mere horizontal block of stone or timber. Still more incomprehensible does it seem to us that any people should have been aware of so great a mechanical advantage, and yet have but rarely employed it, and never allowed it to become a leading feature of construction, or enter in the least degree into the system of decoration. Yet our subsequent inquiries will show us that such was the case with some of the most famous nations of antiquity ; the bare knowledge both of the arched form and the arched construction seems certain in Egypt, probable in Greece ; yet it never entered into either style of architecture : it remained only an occasional and incidental feature, never enriched, or in any way wrought up into the decorative system.

The date of the first invention of the arch will probably never be ascertained ; we may indeed rest assured that it had no one inventor, but that it arose in different countries at different times, as circumstances occurred to require it. Thus the Egyptian researches of Sir Gardner Wilkinson have discovered real arches, both in form and construction, of a date anterior to the Exodus. There are perhaps no existing structures in Greece of so remote a period ; in the earliest Pelasgian or Cyclopean monuments of that country, we see forms evidently exhibiting a sort of yearning and striving after the arch principle, without ever actually reaching to the arch itself. And these, one would think, must be purely indigenous, as if the arch had been introduced from

another country, it could hardly fail to be introduced in its perfect form. And, what is still more remarkable, we find precisely the same imperfect forms in those mysterious ruins in central America, which will probably long afford a subject for speculation to the historian and the antiquary. Here, at least, whatever view be taken as to the source from whence the population of that vast continent was derived, we can hardly imagine these forms to be owing to imitation of any erections of the old world. But these instances, whether they did not go beyond this rude approximation to the arch, or attained its form without its mechanical construction, or succeeded in developing the perfect shape and construction, (of all of which stages examples will be found in the course of the present history,) are still mere isolated facts, of no importance in the general history of architecture. They contributed nothing to the formation of an arched style; one, that is, in which the arch is at once a main feature of the construction, and appears equally prominent in the decorative system. Both the Grecian and the Egyptian architecture has its main features, alike of construction and decoration, formed solely on the principle of the entablature; it is not, like so much Roman work, an entablatured mask cloaking an arched body; the arch is so far from being the principal feature, that in Egyptian buildings it only occurs sufficiently often to prove its existence, while in Greece its very existence is problematical. In neither does it exercise the slightest influence upon the general style.

It is undoubtedly to the nations of ancient Italy, to the inhabitants of Etruria, and the Romans to whom they communicated their arts, that we owe the first regular and systematic employment of the arch. It is now no occasional feature, but the very life of the whole building, standing out in all its boldness and majesty, unless where Grecian forms are introduced as an incongruous mask. In the very earliest days of her existence, when her name was scarcely known to the proud republics of Greece, the barbarian state by the banks of the Tiber had already, by means of the power given by this mightiest of mechanical discoveries, displayed the greatest architectural boldness in her public works, and roofed in vast spaces with stone or brick, while, through ignorance or contempt of it, the most glorious piles of Greece remained exposed to the passing shower and the

noon-day heat, or were only sheltered by an awning, or at best a covering of wood. The sewers of Rome were a vast advance in mechanical architecture over the temples of Athens; and had not the denationalizing spirit of the later Romans striven, with so egregious a failure, to engraft Grecian elegance upon Italian vigour, a simple, noble, and majestic style would doubtless have been speedily developed. As it was, their less ornamental buildings display those rudiments of excellence and consistency which were denied to more enriched structures; and Rome had the honour of transmitting her great invention to other nations, and thus mediately of giving birth to that architecture of the Mediæval Church which may fairly claim to be considered as the noblest and holiest offspring of the human mind.

We thus see the architecture of the entablature prevailing among all nations until the days of the universal influence of Rome; from the Druidical circle to the portico of the Parthenon, the same great principle pervades all. The same forms are found, under varieties not affecting this great rule, in the far west and the remotest east; but it is only in a very few countries that they attained any considerable degree of excellence.

The first structures which may be reckoned under this division, are the CELTIC remains of north-western Europe, the wonderful Druidical temples of Stonehenge, Avebury, and Carnac. These, however, interesting as they are in an antiquarian point of view, as connected with the history and religion of the earliest inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, are altogether valueless in the regard of an architectural historian. Mere stones piled together without any attention to proportion or to any of the laws of design, and merely adhering by their own weight, can barely challenge the name of a building, and though exhibiting the mechanical construction of the entablature in perfection, have no title to be considered as works of architecture, and therefore cannot claim a distinct consideration in the present volume.

Far more valuable to the historian of architecture, and equally shrouded in the mysterious interest of unknown antiquity, are the PELASGIC or CYCLOPEAN monuments of Greece and Italy. These manifest a very considerable advance in the art of construction, and are far from being devoid of a rude majesty of their own. They are also very valuable on account of the light

they throw upon the invention of the arch; and, on these grounds, combined with their high historical interest, though they present but very little detail, they may fairly claim an attentive examination.

The different nations of Asia, from the *Ægean* to the Pacific, afford numerous scattered examples of distinct and apparently indigenous styles of entablature architecture; though in the western portion of that continent, the later examples are often much affected by the direct influence of Grecian art. All these will require a more or less extended notice, though, as not attaining any very great perfection, and standing isolated, without much influence on the history of art, the strictly architectural interest attaching to them is comparatively small. Of these forms the native architecture of the *HINDOOS* is decidedly that which has the greatest claims on our attention.

Even in the western world, as has been before hinted, a distinct and indigenous form of the entablature construction has been discovered in the ruined cities of *YUCATAN*. Their date, and the history of the extinguished nations which reared them, have yet to be explored. Still the very darkness in which they are shrouded invests them with a romantic charm, and they will be found to present several remarkable features and some incidental similarities with buildings of the old world.

Passing by these styles, which, after all, are but imperfect and isolated, we come, at the expense of chronological order, to the nation among whom architecture appears to have first attained any degree of perfection. In the mysterious land of *EGYPT* may be found regular erections, evincing a high development of art, which are probably of equal antiquity with the very rudest structures remaining in any other country. These astonishing monuments contain, indeed, much to offend the critical eye of a refined taste; still there is nothing in them rude or imperfect. Egyptian architecture is a regular and fully developed style of art, designed and executed upon fixed principles; and as it is unquestionably the most ancient example of such a definite style, the buildings of Egypt form a most important epoch in the history of architecture, and would possess a further interest could we regard them as in any sense the parents of the immortal fabrics of Greece.

Our last words have brought us to the very noblest and purest embodyings of mere human grace and loveliness. In GRECIAN architecture we have the entablature system completely developed ; the mechanical structure, common to it with the rudest cromlech or the most unadorned Cyclopean gateway, is now enriched in the most simple and consistent manner ; a perfect system of ornament embraces every feature, and refines all into consummate dignity and beauty. The three orders of Grecian architecture afford forms of perfection unsurpassed by mere human skill ; it was only the yearnings of the heavenward spirit, the inspiration of the Church's ritual, that could conceive aught more noble ; not purer, not lovelier, but vaster in conception, more majestic in execution, and holier in its end. Yet even here we see the inherent incapacity of the entablature system to attain the highest perfection either of building or architecture. The exceeding difficulty, verging on impossibility, of roofing a large space by its means, unless with materials then unknown, presents insuperable difficulties. Grecian architecture produced one form of the most perfect beauty, but it could produce one only : every structure is cast in precisely the same type, with the same outline, the same features both constructive and decorative. Diversities of detail, and, to a very limited extent, of proportion, are the only sources whence variety could be attained ; and it shows the consummate skill of that wonderful nation that they could hinder such simplicity, or rather poverty, of type, from degenerating into the most monotonous and wearisome sameness. Yet such a charge would be altogether futile ; though all are cast in a single mould, still every order, every building, expresses an idea of its own and is endeared by a charm peculiar to itself. And this, too, in a style totally horizontal, which absolutely creeps and grovels on the earth, without a single upward aspiration ; which, when it has reared aloft the majestic portico of its temples, has done all that it can accomplish, and has nothing left wherewith to produce that contrast which should strike the worshipper as he enters within the hallowed walls.

These, then, are the principal forms which have been assumed by the architecture of the entablature : we now turn to that of the arch. The regular and systematic employment of the arch,

originally of Etruscan or Roman birth, spread itself through all the countries which were subject to the universal sway of Rome, and it is from some of them that all subsequent developments of architecture took their origin. We have first the classical ROMAN, the style of Rome herself in her days of greatest power, in which the aboriginal arch system of the Italians and the entablature of the Greeks are mingled together in a style of great boldness and splendour, but utterly devoid of architectural consistency. The Romans, in the most splendid days of their empire, were among the best builders the world has ever seen, and among the worst architects. The magnitude of their great works, the vastness of design, and the wonderful mechanical skill and boldness of execution, displayed in their existing monuments, must ever fill us with the deepest admiration; at the same time it is impossible to conceal our contempt for architects who threw away the opportunity of completing a national round-arched style, bold, simple, and majestic, for the sake of a fantastic and incongruous debasement of the beautiful forms of Greece.

When towards the close of the empire, the entablature began to be dropped, and the arch made the principal feature, a consistent round-arched style at once reappears; we have now the germ of ROMANESQUE, a style subsequently developed by the northern nations into many forms of great splendour, and of the highest interest equally for the Churchman and the antiquary. This exhibits Roman architecture, corrupted according to pedantic classicalism, but, in an enlarged and philosophical view of the subject, improved and developed, though possibly never brought to an ideal perfection. This great family includes many national varieties; Byzantine, Lombard, German, Provençal, Saxon, Norman: presenting great diversities among themselves, but agreeing in several general features of Roman origin, of which the most prominent, and the true badge of the style, is the round arch, which is employed in all important positions, and made, as it should be, the chief feature of the decorative system.

The architecture of the SARACENS, which from them has spread, under certain modifications, into all countries which have bowed to the faith of Mahomet, is of Roman origin, and its earlier forms might in strictness be considered as varieties of Romanesque. It is a style highly enriched and magnificent, yet

mixed, fantastic, and incongruous, and not easily admitting of a comprehensive definition. It is chiefly valuable from some of its forms being a sort of dead Gothic, presenting the pointed arch and other characteristics of that style, but without any trace of its pervading spirit. We shall see however that many of these dead forms were grasped by the Teutonic architects, and by them endued with true life and vigour.

To the Romanesque, after a transitional period, succeeds the **GOthic** architecture. We now feel at once that we have arrived at the most perfect form which the art can assume. Our nomenclature and definitions, which have hitherto been unavoidably somewhat vague, confused, and fluctuating from one principle of division to another, now become, or might be made to become, fixed, consistent, and philosophical. We have no occasion for mere national or chronological landmarks, or for definitions based only on some easily recognised external feature. All the different forms of this matchless style, all the countless varieties of outline and detail for which it is so conspicuous, aim, each of them with greater or less success, at the carrying out of the one idea which is the soul of all, that of vertical extension. To the upward aspiration of every feature, we owe, not indeed the invention, but the adaptation and general employment of the outward badge of the style, the pointed arch; from the same source, as will be hereafter shown more at large, arise its accessories, the round or polygonal abacus, the peculiar style of moulding, the clustered pillar, the confirmed use of vaulting. Then again, externally, the high gable, the spire, the pinnacle, the flying buttress, the pyramidal outline which in the best examples is given to the whole structure, are all expressions of this one great idea. And in the minuter subdivisions of the style, we shall have no longer, as in the case of Romanesque, simply to recount the contemporary diversities of the style in different countries. The different forms of Gothic architecture may be well and scientifically defined, as different modes, more or less nearly approaching perfection, in which it is sought to express the one idea of the style. National varieties, of the most curious and instructive nature, will be found to exist, but they do not disturb the general law of the identical, or at least analogous, sequence of the more important forms which the style has assumed. The form

of architecture which should be endeared to us above every other by its intrinsic beauty and its religious and national associations, will thus be found to afford the most perfect lesson in the philosophy of art. But it must not be denied that even this, the highest merit that a style can possess, not unfrequently proves detrimental to the excellence of individual buildings. The Grecian architect had but to produce certain forms of beauty, well marked out and recognized; his foliage might be less boldly carved, his columns less smoothly hewn, than his neighbour's, but he could hardly fail in the general proportions either of the whole portico or of its component parts. But the Gothic architect was bound by no such fixed rules: he was tied down to no fixed proportion of pillar and arch, or even of nave and chancel; his structure might be as massive as Winchester, or as soaring as Westminster; aiming not at individual forms, but at an idea—not, doubtless, a fixed and defined one, but a dim and shadowy conception of aspiring majesty—his works were but a series of experiments; they might succeed, and surpass every production of human art, on the other hand they might egregiously fail. Hence the best Gothic structures do indeed immeasurably surpass the noblest monuments of Greece; yet, on the other hand, every pure Grecian building is beautiful, while the most sumptuous of our churches are sometimes absolutely unsightly. Ictinus and Callicrates might have sunk to the earth abashed at the littleness of themselves and their works, before the overwhelming grandeur of Peterborough's soaring portico, while their feeblest imitator might have laughed to scorn the unutterable meanness of the sham façade of Lincoln.

With the gradual extinction of the Gothic style, the history of good and consistent architecture terminates, or rather becomes dormant till the happy revival of ecclesiastical art in our own day. Not that great genius, sometimes real beauty, is not displayed in many specimens of the REVIVED ITALIAN; but as a style it is, except as a warning, completely valueless. It is, in the first place, open to every objection to which the Classical Roman is liable, and is besides loaded with every species of fantastic vagary, of which imperial Rome, amid her worst corruptions, had never dreamed. Then, as not being a real development, but a violent re-action, a return to worn-out and abandoned

forms, it lacks—in this resembling even the best Gothic of our own day,—the interest which attaches to every natural and original phase of the art. And, above all, when we consider that this corrupted style was deliberately, by a formal purpose, in contempt of all ancient precedent and tradition, and in despite of every religious and national feeling, substituted for the most glorious forms that Christendom has ever beheld, it is impossible but that our admiration for the genius and skill of many of its authors must be altogether overbalanced by a feeling approaching to disgust at the utter perversion of their mighty powers. St. Peter's at Rome and St. Paul's in London might, a thousand years sooner, have commanded feelings of unmixed homage, and might have ranked side by side with St. Sophia and St. Mark's; but when we know they were reared in contempt of Cologne, and Westminster, and St. Ouen's, our feelings of admiration at the vast conception of the whole, the wonderful mechanical skill displayed, the real majesty and beauty which cannot be denied them, are lost in the shock sustained by our best ideal of a Christian temple, and in the moral condemnation which a high view of Christian art must of necessity pronounce upon their authors.

BOOK I.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE ENTABLATURE.

PART I.

OF THE EARLIER AND RUDER FORMS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ENTABLATURE.

CHAPTER I.

OF PELASGIAN ARCHITECTURE.

AMONG the earliest human erections now remaining which have any claim to be considered as examples of the art of architecture, would seem to be those mysterious relics of dim antiquity, which have been found scattered through Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor, and on which the names of Pelasgian and Cyclopean have been bestowed. Without dogmatically asserting that they are absolutely the most ancient structures in existence, an assertion which, as relating to days anterior to historic record, can be neither proved nor disproved, it is sufficient that they present the art of architecture in its earliest conceivable form. Whether any other country may have exhibited the same stage at a yet more remote period, is a question which cannot be solved, and which, if solved, would be of no importance in our present inquiry. These awful remains of the world's youth stand before us as the relics of unrecorded days, of the dim times of poetic legend, enveloped as they were in religious mystery for ages before a line of what we deem ancient history was penned. The historians and philosophers of the days of Pericles knew no more of the authors of these gigantic fragments than ourselves; all that survived, even to them, were the shadows of

fallen greatness, the feeble echoes of a voice long since hushed in death; our ancients had to explore the remains of these far earlier days by the same faint glimmerings of legend and tradition as ourselves; all that Thucydides himself could recover would be a few scattered fables, ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευκῆ-κότα, referring works that seemed beyond man's power to the Titanic forgers of the thunderbolt, or in their humblest flight to races of men whose deeds were veiled in midnight, and of whose being their giant fabrics alone remained as witnesses.

And to us, whose early youth is spent among the immortal lays, whose living substance is called up by even the pictured resemblance of those massive piles—monuments, as we would fain believe, of the days of Achilles and the Atreidæ, and the old time before them—to us, every rugged stone seems vocal with some old heroic legend. Each gateway may have seen the marshalling of heroes, arrayed to man the thousand ships of Argos, and wait upon their chariot wheels to whom Zeus¹ had consigned her twofold throne and sceptre. We may ward off for a while the stern grasp of historic inquiry from the piles whose names bring thus personally before us the imperial house of Pelops, and even in the dim picture deem ourselves

*Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὀράν.*²

There yet stands, whole and perfect, that wondrous vault, alike the treasury in which was gathered the wealth "of many islands and of all Argos," and the tomb over which the "orphan brood of the eagle father" raised the shrill voice of wailing for the slaughtered king. Each mighty ruin brings crowding on our sight the gathering hosts of the Achæans, the stern omen, and its sterner cure, the "father's hands reeking with the streams of virgin gore," and the dark avenging Curse thence rising to track him back to the home and throne denied him; we see the triumphal return of the conqueror, victims blazing around him, his path strewn with purple, and his ears gladdened with the pæans of victory; we hear the wild shrieks and fearful predictions of the doomed prophetess, and the thrilling groan of the

¹ Διὸρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου
Τιμῆς.—Agam. 43.

² Soph. Elect. 9.

murdered king: we see the stern form of his murderess standing "like a raven" over the corpse of her bleeding lord, girt with all the fearful majesty of the avenger, and calling on ancestral Furies to share and vindicate her deed.

Without at all entering into the mysticism and misapplied learning which has been expended upon the Pelasgians, a people of whom, after all, we have no authentic history, and can ascertain little beyond the name, it would appear that the title of Pelasgian, as applied to these buildings, is by no means inappropriate. It seems clear that, long before the days of Italian and Hellenic civilization, there was a race widely diffused through the regions bordering on the Mediterranean, which formed a common element in the mixed population of Greece and Italy; and this race it is which we understand by the name Pelasgian. And as these remains probably belong to a similar early period, and have been traditionally ascribed to this Pelasgian race, that name is certainly more appropriate than any other which could now be substituted.

The monuments of these early days consist for the most part of walls and gateways, the defences of those numerous independent cities of early Greece and Italy, which form so striking a feature in their political aspect, and whose history often affords more instruction than that of the mightiest empires. Latium—now desolate, but once swarming with these little states,—and many widely distant parts of Greece, are full of these venerable fragments. The walls are built of vast stones, in the arrangement of which three varieties, most probably marking distinct epochs, have been observed, and all three are found in the acropolis of Mycenæ. The first consists of large rude stones, chiefly approaching to the rectangular form, but put together without order or symmetry; the joints of three or four courses are often exactly vertical. The second period presents stones of irregular polygonal forms, but fitting into each other with much greater regularity. The third has good masonry, consisting of rectangular stones built in horizontal courses, with the joints interrupted in the same way as in modern erections. In some Italian specimens, as at Terracina, the square stones are ornamented by a sort of groove round the rim, leaving a raised surface in the middle.

But it is manifest that mere walls, in which this last feature is the greatest attempt at ornament, can be of little value in the history of architecture, and indeed have but a dubious claim to be considered as genuine specimens of that art. The gateways, of which numerous examples remain, are of course far more valuable, and are indeed among the most interesting fragments of antiquity which have been preserved to us. They exhibit the entablature system in every stage, from the very rudest attempt, to a form exhibiting considerable progress in the art of construction ; and they are still more valuable from the light they throw upon the origin of the arch. Some of the rudest, and probably earliest, examples have advanced but very little beyond the cromlechs of the Celt, being merely two upright stones of no great height, with a third of vast length laid over them, as in one of the gates at Mycenæ. Most of them are merely openings in the wall, the jambs being formed by the terminations of the rude blocks of which it is built, without any attempt at polish or decoration. At Norba in Latium is one of the rudest construction ; and several intermediate steps may be traced between these, and the square masonry of the famous Lion Gate at Mycenæ, or the doorway of the Treasury of Atreus, which has a recessed jamb and lintel, built of smooth and regular stone. But even the other examples, rude, massive, and unornamented as they are, possess not only the awe inspired by the immense antiquity, and the majesty of their gigantic proportion, but that real dignity, we might almost say, beauty, which attaches to every construction treated without disguise or pretence. And this, in the earlier stages of art, before really graceful ornaments were introduced, is more conspicuous in examples left, like these, in the grandeur of unadorned simplicity, than in walls and pillars overlaid with the uncouth and unseemly decorations of Indian and Egyptian art.

The real arch seems never to occur ; but the approximations to it are numerous and most interesting. In most of the Pelasgian gateways the jambs incline inward, so that the aperture is narrower at the top than at the bottom. This was most probably done in order to diminish the size of the lintel, without narrowing the space required for passengers. It is easy to imagine jambs of this sort inclining to a point without any lintel, and this is actually an existing arrangement. It is found among

the remains of Tiryns in the rudest possible form, being a mere piling together of huge and shapeless stones. At Messaligion in Ætolia are several examples of much better construction, the gateways forming a sharp angle, and the straight-lined jambs being well defined. But besides this, in an example at Thoricos the jambs are not only inclined but curved; so that we have the form of the pointed arch as perfect as in the best Gothic Cathedral. It was doubtless felt to be a more graceful shape than the straight-lined sides just described, and one moreover which allowed the diminution of width to be more gradual. We have thus discovered the *form* of the pointed arch at a period of unknown antiquity, apparently earlier than any instance in Europe of the employment of its semicircular rival. This shows at once how futile are the searches which have been made for the origin of that shape in intersecting arcades, or the figure called *vesica piscis*, and how little light the discovery of its origin, when effected, can throw upon the history of Gothic architecture. But in these examples we have not the *arch* at all in reality, but only its form; these pointed gateways are not formed of real voussoirs supporting each other upon the principle of the arch, but merely of overlapping stones¹ cut into the semblance of an arched form. They are not arches, but there can be little doubt of their being the parents of the arch; they exhibit a dissatisfaction with the mere posts and lintel of the entablature construction, and a hankering after one more compact, and not involving the employment of such vast blocks. By what means, or at what period, the full light broke in upon the authors of these experiments, we know not; there were, doubtless, many such successive attempts made after some better construction; many wearisome failures, many close and yet unsuccessful approaches, may have preceded the full completion of the discovery; till at last the principle of mutual support was fully developed, and the true ARCH sprang self-balanced from impost to impost. If one may attempt to establish a chronological sequence among these remains of mythical days, one might almost think that

¹ Another form, less frequent, but analogous and probably contemporary with the inclined gateway, has the stones actually overlapping, not

cut into the pointed form, but left like steps. There is such a one at Cære or Agylla.

the first attempts had failed, and, in Greece at least, had not been repeated. The rugged gateway at Tiryns is a nearer approach to a real arch than the better built examples at Messaloggion and Thoricos. It shows a visible attempt, though of course a very rude and clumsy one, at mutual support among the stones ; it has even something like a key-stone, though the endeavour to place it as such has evidently failed. It is possible that such failures may have discouraged future attempts ; and we may even find here the cause of the non-appearance of the arch in Grecian architecture. These circumstances may have hindered its native development : and as the Grecian system had been brought to perfection long before Greece had any intercourse with nations employing the arch, no opportunity was afforded for its introduction from external sources. But in Italy, as we all know, the case was far different ; there the arch worked its way to supremacy, and became the animating principle of the national architecture. There can however be little doubt that it was developed by a series of similar experiments out of the rude attempts of the old Pelasgian builders. Arches frequently occur in connection with Pelasgian work : sometimes indeed they are manifest additions, sometimes the jambs of a Cyclopean gateway are taken to support a Roman arch ; but how great or how small an interval elapsed between the two can hardly be ascertained. And we find such rude and apparently early specimens of the arch in so close a connection with the old masonry, that one is led to suppose that we have here found its first appearance, its first complete development out of the primitive inclining gateway.

We have seen at Tiryns something very like a pointed arch, at least a manifest attempt at constructing one, and at Thoricos we have the complete form, though with no attempt at its construction. Indeed the old overlapping stones would suggest the pointed form more readily than the round, and most of the early false arches, or attempts at arches, are pointed ; a round example however occurs at Assos, and we shall again meet them when we come to the architecture of Egypt. But on the other hand, the round form was certainly predominant among real arches in early times. The greater perfection and security which it seems to possess, might account for its being introduced, as soon as the stones began really to be arranged on the principle of mu-

tual support ; and the figure itself, the semicircle, is the simplest and most likely to occur to the mind. More especially, if ignorance and inexperience had caused failures in the attempt to construct a pointed arch, this would be an additional reason for the early prevalence of the round.

It would seem then that the Etruscans and other early inhabitants of Italy developed the arch for themselves out of the old Pelasgian gateway, which the Achæans failed to do. We shall soon find the same or a closely analogous process pursued in other nations. A rude transition almost everywhere occurs between the timid lintel and the bold soaring arch, and in more than one country the development has stopped short of the latter.

But the Pelasgians of Greece, or their Achæan successors, or the people, whoever they may be, to whom the Treasury at Mycenæ is to be attributed, must have made very great advances in the use of the overlapping stones. They had learned to construct not only an apparent arch, but an apparent dome. Such a work implies not only a high degree of mechanical skill, but a great confidence in the mode of construction which they practised ; one indeed which they carried to so great perfection as quite to impart the general effect of the true vault ; it even seems probable that Pausanias mistook its character,¹ and looked upon it as a real cupola. But it is really "formed by horizontal, not radiated layers, which, advancing over each other, and having the lower angle cut off, gives the structure the appearance of a Gothic dome."² The form differs from a spire or pyramid in the curved shape into which the inner line of the masonry is cut, and from which the domical appearance results. This roof manifestly bears the same relation to the pointed gate at Thoricos, as the true cupola does to the true arch, and shows that the arts both of design and construction must have made no contemptible progress at the time when it was erected.

The Treasury at Mycenæ was by no means the only edifice of the kind in Greece ; that of Minyas at Orchomenos was of the

¹ That is, if the Treasury at Mycenæ and that at Orchomenos were, as is most probable, of the same construction. He evidently

looked on the latter as a true dome. 9, 38, 2.

² Dodwell's Classical Tour, ii. 21.

like nature, and equally famous ; and several others of less note are also recorded. Their use has been called in question, but both tradition and antecedent probability unite in testifying to their destination as treasuries ; they seem admirably adapted to receive the wealth which all legends agree in attributing to the early Grecian princes, and which they equally assure us was stored in buildings of the kind. And as their possible use as places of sepulture, which has been contended for,¹ does not exclude their employment as treasuries ; so neither would their primary destination as treasuries necessarily exclude their occasional use as the sepulchres of kings.

There can be no doubt that a very considerable amount of decoration was employed upon these later works of Pelasgian or ancient Hellenic art. Brazen chambers are mentioned in numerous legends, and the occurrence of nails of bronze, which yet remain, would seem to show that the description was answered by these treasuries being internally lined with plates of brass. Fragments of marble of different colours have been found, which show that the polychromatic effect obtained by their arrangement was sought after in these early times, no less than in the Saracenic and Italian Romanesque, and in not a few of our own churches.

Nor was sculpture neglected in these palaces of the house of Pelops ; the famous Lion-gate, the entrance to the Acropolis of Mycenæ, is well known. The triangular space over the lintel is occupied by two mutilated lions standing on each side of a small column, almost like supporters in modern heraldry. The column thus curiously employed has the proportions of no Grecian order, and is crowned with a capital of its own, with an ornament of round knobs or pellets, more like what are found in Romanesque architecture. A similar space over the entrance to the Treasury is now left open, but is generally supposed to have been filled with a composition of the same kind. It is therefore clear that, even at so early a stage of architecture, the relations of the subsidiary arts were already well understood.

But the fragments discovered at Mycenæ afford materials for inquiries still more interesting to an historian of architecture.

¹ Thirlwall's Greece, i. 225, note. Their twofold use is distinctly stated by Pausanias, 2, 16, 6.

Some of those mentioned above are covered with a sort of Arabesque sculpture ; and a fragment of a column has also been preserved, whose shaft and base are richly adorned with the chevron or zigzag moulding. It might indeed, at first sight, be readily mistaken for a specimen of Romanesque work. This and the other sculptures are considered by Mr. Dodwell to be of "an Egyptian rather than a Grecian character ;" he goes on to connect this supposed resemblance with the vague stories of Egyptian immigrations in the early days of Greece, and thus endeavours, as so many others have done, to refer all the arts and civilization of Greece to an Egyptian origin. But we shall soon see that these ornaments are common to almost every country, even in cases where derivation from one to another is altogether out of the question. They seem in fact to belong naturally to a certain stage of art, the earliest in which ornament is sought for in the simple and natural process of merely carving the surface of the architectural members. That this system of ornament attained its widest application and greatest perfection in the Norman buildings of England is certain ; but to define the zigzag as "a decoration peculiar to the Norman style of architecture,"¹ is one of the most palpable fallacies ever put forth in support of a favourite theory.²

The whole character of the ornamental fragments found at Mycenæ, the style of sculpture and enrichment, and the peculiar construction of the false arch, appear to show that they belong to a really distinct style, and are not a mere barbarous germ of the future Grecian. The subject has been investigated at some length by the learned historian of the Doric race, to whom I shall again have occasion to refer. The later style is essentially wooden, while the earlier seems one essentially of stone. This clearly appears both from the fragment of a column at Mycenæ being furnished with a base, and from the numerous attempts at the formation of arches. The true Grecian architecture, as we shall hereafter see, was not a development or improvement of the old Pelasgian manner of building, but a distinct inven-

¹ Glossary of Architecture.

² The inclination of door jambs is another feature in which the Pelasgian remains coincide with early

Christian buildings, as will be seen when we come to speak of the ancient churches of Ireland.

tion, as inferior in construction as it is superior in beauty. "We have given," says Müller,¹ "this description of a style of architecture not strictly belonging to our subject, in order to direct the reader's attention to these most remarkable remains of Grecian sculpture, which are quite sufficient to convince us that the building to which they belong, thus adorned with party-coloured stones, and probably covered in the interior with plates of bronze, may be reckoned as the monument of a time when a semi-barbarous style of architecture prevailed throughout Greece."

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that in the whole spirit and air of these erections we may trace the impress of a character akin rather to the unyielding energy of Rome, than to the light gracefulness of the Grecian mind. There is graven on these venerable fragments the stamp of the same iron greatness, the same indomitable will, the same perfection of physical and moral vigour, combined with carelessness of intellectual grace and beauty, which bent alike the physical and the political world beneath the yoke of the old Roman. We see the vain striving after that great invention which Rome brought to its perfection, but which refined and intellectual Greece knew not or despised. As a Grecian temple is the purest product of mind, a Gothic church the loftiest creation of the heart, so is a genuine Roman structure the most perfect development of mere power, the true offspring of the never-yielding will. And similar, though far inferior in degree, is the spirit of these remains, the monuments of a race closely allied to an important element of the Roman nation. This character may have been altogether latent among them, circumstances may not have called it out; but it is to be remembered that of their history we know nothing. How much is Pelasgian, how much Latin or Achæan, how far those names really express any important national distinction, we know not. All that we can safely say is that both Greece and Italy still retain relics of an age when the Dorian lance had not yet glimmered over the isle of Pelops, and when the Seven Hills still remained the pasture-ground of Alba, and the she-wolf made her unmolested lair under the shadow of the fig-tree of the Palatine.

¹ Dorians, ii. 268.

CHAPTER II.

OF EARLY COLUMNAR ARCHITECTURE.

THE employment of columns is the greatest step towards bringing the architecture of the entablature into a definite and artistic form. It is manifest that when anything like a *series* of openings is required, it is not sufficient for them to consist of mere breaks in a continuous wall; the eye requires some more graceful and finished support than the masses of masonry left by such a process. The column is the appropriate substitute, and we consequently find it in use even at a very early stage of the art. The facts recorded in the last chapter leave no doubt of the extensive use of columns in the architecture designated as Pelasgian; not only has a fragment of a highly enriched one been discovered, but the employment of a column as a merely decorative feature over the Lion-Gate at Mycenæ seems to prove still more. Enrichments of this nature, miniature representations of the great constructive features of the building, can only reproduce those which belong to the style, and moreover their appearance can hardly be expected till long habit has induced a thorough familiarity with their employment. But the columnar architecture of mythic Greece has its existence simply proved; as to the manner in which it was applied, its rules, proportions, and general effect, we are totally in the dark. For the earliest forms of columnar architecture we must look elsewhere.

And I would here observe, that by earliest I do not at all mean necessarily to imply earliest in actual chronological precedence. Architecture is so necessary an art, that it cannot fail to arise, in some shape or other, among all nations, as soon as they are established in settled abodes and present the very remotest approach to civilization. Those nations who have the opportunity will derive it from some people more advanced in the scale of humanity; those who are debarred from such intercourse will be driven to invent and develop for themselves. The first stages of architecture must therefore, almost in the nature of things, have been gone through over and over again in

different ages and countries, altogether independently of each other. The entablature undoubtedly, and probably the arch also, has been invented several times in distant corners of the world. And as nations come upon the stage of history at different periods of the world's existence, as the political and social infancy of one coincides with the old age of another, so is it with their progress in the building art. The Egyptian structures, to be hereafter treated of, have probably stood for more years than any that will be mentioned in the present chapter; nevertheless they do not exhibit the art in the same early form, but in one very much developed and enriched.

We have already observed to how great an extent each style of architecture retains the character of the material in which its first examples were constructed:—a fact of itself sufficient to prove their independent origin. But the column, in some form or other, pervades all; the cave, the tent, the wooden hut, alike develop into it; each leaves its impress upon some of its numerous varieties. The column indeed is the most natural shape for any attempt at an ornamental support; a decorative imitation of a trunk or a tent-pole could hardly assume any but the cylindrical form; and when the rock was hewn out, or when the mass of wall between two openings began to be reduced into more graceful proportions, the same form is equally the most natural for such a diminished mass to assume. It might, indeed, at first be square,¹ but beauty and convenience alike would suggest chamfering or rounding-off the angles, and by this process the genuine column is at once produced. The capital and base are such natural finishes, that they could hardly fail soon to be added, and that without doubt at a much earlier stage of a style originally stone, than in those which are to be traced up to erections of timber. Such an one, as we shall hereafter see, is the architecture of Greece; the earliest form of its column was a post driven into the ground or floor; consequently a base for it to rest on could have no place until the original type was somewhat obliterated. We consequently find that the simplest and purest of the ancient orders is worked without that feature. Similarly in the Chinese architecture, which reproduces a tent just as the Grecian does a hut, (though an apology is due to the shades of

¹ See below, pp. 53, 71, 79.

Pericles and Pheidias for mentioning the two in one sentence,) the capital is wanting, the wooden pillar being actually pierced, as in the original construction, by the beam, which must in courtesy be looked upon as an entablature. In an original stone construction, whether of erection or excavation, there would be nothing to hinder the introduction of features so needful to complete the finish of the whole, and to effect a due cohesion between the several parts.

The extensive ruins which late researches have brought to light in central America, will afford as good a notion of a very early stage of columnar architecture as any monuments which have been preserved. Their history, and that of the race by whom they were erected, is shrouded in impenetrable darkness. Of the fragments recorded in the last chapter we have indeed no certain dates, no records on which we can implicitly rely, but we have at least legend and tradition to occupy their place. If we cannot repeople them with their real founders and inhabitants, we can at least people them with those whom successive ages have regarded in that light; at all events we have, or suppose that we have, a tolerably correct general notion of the race, language, and social condition of those who reared them. But here all is midnight: the structures themselves exist, but their authors are as though they had never been. Not only their history and institutions, but their very race and name have vanished; and the imagination is left to wander unrestrained among the mighty fragments of an unknown world. Many deep thoughts might be raised in the breast of the poet or the moralist, at the contemplation of these sumptuous structures now untrodden by the foot of man, but which may perchance have once rivalled the wealth of Sardis, or Babylon, or Persepolis, cities which have perished with them, but have left a name behind.

The ruins however do not say much for the state of art among the people, whoever they may have been, to whom they owe their origin. They are essentially barbarous, and like all barbarous structures, seek to supply by cumbrous magnificence and superfluous ornament, the want of the higher beauties of grace and proportion. And we cannot fail to remark, even at the onset, that the same system of ornament which everywhere marks this stage of art is found here in great abundance. The

ubiquitous chevron, which we have already seen at Mycenæ, meets us again at Uxmal and Chichen, where the presence of the followers of William the Norman is no less problematical than in the halls of the Atreidæ.

The general notion conveyed by these remains is decidedly that of a stone construction, although some of the details appear to point to a wooden origin. There seems indeed no absurdity in supposing a simultaneous employment among a rude people of the cave and the hut; and if so, the ideas borrowed from the two constructions would doubtless be intermingled in their attempts to bestow somewhat of an ornamental character upon their buildings. Many of the larger erections exhibit long and rich façades with many columns, but the genuine colonnade hardly occurs; the columns are merely incidental, not occurring in continuous ranges, but merely here and there, just as one or two openings were wanted, which might be most conveniently treated in this manner. The wall is the essential feature; the intercolumniations, if we may dignify them with such a name, are merely certain of its apertures, which happen to be divided by a column instead of by a mere mass of wall. The two modes of division are used in the very same façade, and other fronts occur without any columns, none of their openings having advanced beyond the character of doorways. The entablature too, if it may be so called, is preposterously heavy, and its form is in no degree influenced by the pillars below, or regulated by their proportions. It occurs indeed equally whether its supports are columnar or not. This might almost look as if the arrangements of a colonnade had been transferred to a wall, as in so many façades of Italian architecture, yet the whole appearance of the style seems to countenance the idea of an original mural construction. The notion is rather that of a continuous mass, occasionally interrupted by apertures and pillars, than of the genuine portico, where the columns are conceived as first existing, and the entablature as laid upon them. Of course such a style as this does not employ a feature so essentially wooden as the pediment; and thus additional heaviness is procured. How different is all this disproportion and confusion from the perfect and harmonious symmetry which pervades the simplest Doric temple.

And in the details the same unskilfulness prevails throughout, its only disguise being the lavish employment of every kind of uncouth and barbarous enrichment. The columns by themselves might recal for a moment that glorious conception of simple unadorned majesty, the uncorrupted Doric; but it is only in simplicity that they agree, and simplicity without grace is mere rudeness. These pillars are mere perpendicular masses, not only without fluting, which may be excused, but without any diminution of diameter. Some of the ornaments, as was before said, seem to bear about them traces of a timber origin, being very like what we see among ourselves in summer-houses and such like structures of wood, where ranges of small cylindrical logs are placed close together. Some of these are furnished with what may be called bases, capitals, and bands; though their air is rather that of an elongated baluster than of a genuine banded shaft.

But the circumstance of most real interest connected with these ruins is, that while the arch does not occur in a pure state, far less enter into the decorative system, we find the same attempts at it which we have traced among the early inhabitants of Greece and Italy. It is certainly most remarkable to see exactly the same process, the same strivings after the advantages of an arched construction, going on in two such distant regions, where the idea of borrowing one from another is altogether out of the question, even were it not antecedently precluded by the improbability of a mere fruitless experiment being imitated. These, and other instances which we shall have to mention, show that architecture is in most countries a plant of indigenous birth, and has everywhere passed through the same, or at least analogous, stages. The want of the arch was almost universally felt, though it was not every nation that had the ability, or the good fortune, to bring their endeavours after it to a successful issue.

Such at least was not the case with the people of Yucatan,¹ who seem to have remained at even a greater distance from suc-

¹ Similar strivings after the arch appear also in the architecture of the ancient Peruvians, which, as affording neither columns nor arches, hardly deserves a separate place in the present history. See Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, i. 142.

cess than the old Pelasgians. The form most usual in their structures is an opening with inclining jambs, straight or curved, not joining in a point, though approaching very nearly to it, but with a lintel laid across the top. This mode of construction is here, as well as in Greece, applied to the erection of quasi-vaulted roofs. In other cases the roofs are supported on square pillars.

From these remains, which, rude and uncouth as they are, are not without interest, both on architectural grounds, and from our very ignorance as to their history, we will turn to the opposite quarter of the globe, and take a brief view of the architecture of the nation which may fairly lay claim to a greater antiquity and an earlier civilization, than any other now existing as a distinct people. Not that there is any resemblance whatever between Chinese and primitive American architecture; but simply that it is a convenient arrangement to dispose of these forms of less beauty and importance, before we commence the series which will lead us by a gradually ascending scale to the full glories of Poseidonia and of Athens.

The buildings of the celestial empire have but very little claim to architectural beauty or propriety; and in this case, as in all the other institutions of that extraordinary race, it is not owing to mere rudeness and barbarism, but to a fixed depravity of taste. Their erections are not the huts of savages, but the dwelling-places of a people whose civilization is older than that of Greece or Italy, and whose architecture, like their other arts, laws, and manners, has stiffened for thousands of years in the same mould of rigid immobility. China seems to occupy in the modern world a position analogous to that of Egypt in the ancient; both nations up to a certain point had made greater and more rapid advances than any other people, and had from some unknown cause become fixed at that point for ever. The two civilizations were probably contemporary, and that the Egyptian has not been handed down to our own days as a living system, as well as the Chinese, appears to be wholly the result of external circumstances.

The Chinese are acquainted with the arch, and use it in their bridges; and, when we consider that they alone possessed for ages three of the great discoveries of modern Europe, there is

no improbability in supposing that they boldly threw it over their great rivers in all its mechanical perfection, before the Pelasgian builder had even ventured to make his overlapping stones present some feeble approximation to its outward form. But they have never made it a decorative feature, nor does it seem to be at all introduced into those structures which are designed to be ornamental, with the exception of what are called triumphal arches, though their claim to that title is not always very valid.

The general outline of Chinese buildings is tolerably familiar to us: the manner of building in stages, often diminishing in size, and each furnished with a roof and balcony, as well as the extraordinary hooked form given to the angles of the roofs. This is found both in the larger houses and in the towers or pagodas. These erections can certainly make no claim to the smallest share of beauty; indeed their outlines must be considered as positively ugly, and the bright colours and decorations in which their builders delight must be but a poor substitute for graceful composition and harmonious proportions.

The columns employed by the Chinese have been incidentally mentioned in a former part of this chapter. They are commonly of wood, fixed on stone or marble bases. Their being pierced with the beam most incontestably proves their direct¹ origin from the tent; such an arrangement would never have occurred in an original stone architecture, nor yet in the reproduction of a timber hut. Their height is from eight to twelve diameters; and they gradually diminish towards the top. Their bases exhibit a variety of profiles, but none of any great elegance.

Another form of architecture in Eastern Asia presents some analogy with the Chinese, though with considerable diversities. These are the buildings of Siam;² whose outlines partake of the same character as the Chinese, so far as that both possess that remarkable pyramidal rising of the whole structure to a crowning and, as it were vanishing, point. But instead of the balconies and curling angles of the Chinese roofs, the Siamese structures display a profusion of peaked roofs and gables. When a number of the latter, gradually ascending, encompass a sort of spire perched on the ridge, as is sometimes the case, the outline, barbarous as it is, must be confessed to be something very supe-

¹ See Heeren's Asiatic Nations, ii. 87.

² See Crawford's Siam, p. 112.

rior to anything in Chinese architecture. On the other hand a high roof over a colonnade, which is also seen, must be confessed to be not a little out of place.

The outward resemblance which the religion of Buddha—"a diabolic mimicry of Christianity," as Frederick Schlegel expresses it¹—bears to some of the doctrines and ceremonies of the true faith, (rendering it thereby a more thoroughly hostile system than any other false worship,) has been often remarked, sometimes with evil purposes. But it may be allowable to compare the undoubted fact with the circumstance that some features in the Buddhist temples of Siam present an exactly similar resemblance to the architecture of the Christian Church. The gables just mentioned may be considered as an instance; and it is still more strikingly shown in the sacred spires. These are of divers forms and outlines, but all of the same aspiring tendency, and all seem to cry aloud for the cross as their natural finish. The most remarkable is that of a temple called Wata-naga, which in its general outline most vividly recalls the appearance of such erections as the Eleanor crosses or the market cross at Winchester, its open character assimilating it more closely to the latter. But upon examination it will be found, as I have heard it expressed, literally living with demons. Pointed arches, or their appearance, occur in two stages, but the lower range, as if in direct mockery, are actually formed by the extended legs of some monstrous portent of depraved idolatry. If Buddhism really be a Satanic burlesque of our religion, one might be almost tempted to consider such erections, of the age of which I can give no information, though there are reasons² for supposing none of the Siamese buildings to be very ancient, to be in truth a similar burlesque upon Christian architecture and Christian emblems.

All these structures, Chinese and Siamese, show a very low state of real art. Mere rudeness in execution is a necessary stage in its development among any nation, and does not exclude majesty of proportion, or even a kind of beauty; but we here see a manifest attempt at architectural splendour, without any perception of beauty whatever, but with a taste thoroughly depraved alike in composition, detail, and decoration. Real art is sacri-

¹ Philosophy of History, p. 137.

² Crawford, *ut supra*.

ficed to gaudy frippery, and, in China at least, fixed laws have for ever bound down every effort of genius, so that no improvement or development can be looked for. Our next chapters will open to us a much wider scope for contemplation, in the works of nations with whom architecture had made infinitely greater advances, though we shall still find the art very far removed from the perfection of Grecian or Teutonic skill.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA.

IN no part of the present work shall we have more need of the caution given in the Introduction, than now that the course of our history has brought us to the mysterious remains of ancient Hindostan. It is no part whatever of the author's design to plunge for a single moment into those depths of controversial speculation which seem to involve the remotest approach to the antiquities of that wonderful land. Even into the inquiries which have been raised as to the connection between the ancient Indians and Egyptians, and the derivation of learning and philosophy from one to the other, this is not the place to enter; but a question intimately connected with them is of the greatest consequence in our present inquiry; namely, what amount of connection may be supposed to exist between the architecture of the two countries. This connection has by some writers been exaggerated almost into identity, while on the other hand, Mr. Fergusson denies, with every appearance of truth, any such resemblance between Indian and Egyptian architecture as could justify a supposition of either being borrowed from the other, and asserts, what cannot be reasonably doubted, that the former is an original production of the country.¹ There is clearly no such resemblance as exists between Grecian architecture and the divers styles which have borrowed from it, or even such as that, whether accidental or otherwise, which may be found between our own Gothic and the style transplanted into India by its Mahometan conquerors. But surely a more subtle resemblance may be traced

¹ Ancient Architecture of Hindostan, p. 11.

between the buildings of these two extraordinary nations ; one not of detail, but of character, not to be assigned to imitation, but to analogous origin. Without dogmatically asserting that either people has borrowed from the other, still less pretending to decide which civilization is the more original of the two, it can hardly be denied that a general resemblance exists between the character and institutions of the two peoples, and the same vague sort of resemblance evidently appears in their architecture. But besides this, another extensive source of similarity may be found in their mechanical origin. Both have their probable origin in excavations, the effect of which origin on the styles themselves will be presently entered into more at length. The Persian monuments on the other hand, which Mr. Fergusson connects with the Indian, have as I shall hereafter attempt to show, a totally different origin, one derived from timber structures ; consequently, while any amount of resemblance might exist in detail, any expressions of symbolical or religious notions which might be supposed common to the two nations, any marks of their connection as members of the great Indo-Germanic family, the same similarity in composition and general architectural effect could not be looked for as between the Egyptian and Indian monuments. Persian and Grecian architecture have, just like Egyptian and Indian, a common origin, and consequently have the same sort of general resemblance, one which would be sought for in vain in the details of the two styles.

A caution may here be necessary, which, if not attended to, would involve the most inextricable confusion ; namely, as to the wide and total difference between the native Hindoo style of architecture, which is the subject of the present chapter, and the Mahometan style in India just now alluded to, which will be treated of in a more advanced stage of the work. It is the more needful, as the two stand side by side, and are often contemporary ; indeed their features have, in not a few cases, been actually intermingled. It will here be sufficient to remark that the one is a native style of entablature architecture of unknown antiquity, the other an arched style, a distant offshoot of the great Romanesque family, and not introduced into India till many centuries after the Christian era.

It is highly interesting to find the two great forms of architecture thus placed side by side and actually maintaining a hostile

position. The arch, as a construction, is utterly unknown¹ in the genuine Hindoo style, though its form, or an approximation to it, is not uncommon; apparently the same overlapping of stones which we have already so often met with, and which Mr. Fergusson not inaptly calls "the horizontal arch." But more than this, it seems that the Hindoos retain to this day what he calls their "abhorrence of an arch." He mentions several buildings of different dates, from A.D. 1210 to within the last fifty years, in which buildings have been erected by Hindoo architects, for their Mahometan masters or in imitation of the forms employed by them, in which apparent arches and even apparent vaults are common, but whose real construction is always formed on the horizontal principle.

Of the antiquity of the Hindoo buildings much has been said, some authors being desirous of tracing it up to some almost immeasurably distant period. Mr. Fergusson considers the cave temples, which he conceives to have belonged to the Buddhist religion, to be the oldest remains in India, the earliest dating from the second or third century B. C., and continuing in an uninterrupted series for several centuries. The earliest structural monuments now existing he assigns to the seventh century of our era, but as he supposes the caves to have been excavated in imitation of structural and even of wooden buildings, the *style* is carried backward into an almost illimitable antiquity. And though this view of their origin is one to which the present writer cannot accede, there is no reason for supposing these caves to be the earliest monuments that ever were produced in Hindostan. Buildings infinitely ruder must have preceded them; and though excavated temples are free from many causes of destruction which affect structures above ground, yet they are exposed to other sources of decay, and are not a whit more imperishable than the others.

In the Indian architecture of every kind we find the construction of the entablature prevailing throughout. The column is for the most part heavy and massive; its original form is a square block, a shape which it sometimes retains; but it is more frequently subdivided into eight, sixteen, or even thirty-two sides; sometimes it has its angles actually rounded off. The bases and capitals however always retain the square form.

¹ See Heeren, *ut supra*.

These pillars were not used, like those of the Greeks, in the construction of extensive and airy porticoes as external ornaments to their temples ; these are indeed sometimes fronted by small open porches with columns : but the principal use of the Hindoo pillar is for the internal support of ponderous roofs of stone. They are therefore arranged in numerous rows at small distances from each other, and consequently branch out in every direction in an interminable perspective. In order the better to support the enormous weights laid upon them without bringing the colonnades into an inconvenient proximity to one another, a strange invention is employed, which Mr. Fergusson aptly calls the "bracket-capital;" the capital consisting, in the most complete and decorative form, of four brackets diverging from a centre, each being of the diameter of the column. This allows the supporting masses to be brought nearer to each other by two diameters, without diminishing the actual intercolumniation. Sometimes a series of these are placed on one another, so that the horizontal arch is substituted for the genuine entablature ; for in such a case the successive bracket-capitals are in truth the overlapping stones of a Pelasgian gateway, with each individual stone cut into what is looked upon as a decorative form.

The roofs are sometimes flat and sometimes arched ; the former kind appear to be enriched with a sort of panelling, of this the more strongly marked lines immediately over the columns,—the horizontal ribs, so to speak—have been considered as imitations of the beams of a wooden roof. Yet there seems to be no necessity for this supposition ; it is evidently much more natural to mark the lines of the colonnades by this sort of projection, than to place an unrelieved flat roof immediately upon the columns. The arrangement seems exactly analogous to that of vaulted roofs ; a flat expanse having the same relation to a simple entablature which a vault has to a simple arch. As in cross-vaulting the line of each arch is generally marked by a rib, and in a barrel-vault a rib frequently rises from each pillar or pilaster below, it is but natural that in the kind of roof which occupies an analogous place in the other system, some similar decoration should mark out the more immediate entablature, the portion namely directly over the columns. This panelling seems quite the same in principle as the ribs in

the arch-roofed temple¹ at Ellora, which differ in nothing from those of a barrel-vault. And if these features should occur in other parts of the roofs besides those directly over the colonnades, it may be accounted for by the usual custom of introducing decorative imitations of the larger constructive features.

By far the most interesting of the Indian monuments, and those presenting the finest architectural display, are to be found among the rock-cut temples of Ellora and Elephanta. Besides the idea of immense labour which it involves, there is something striking and awful in the very conception of this kind of architecture, where the materials are provided by the hand of nature, and the building is not reared by the work of man, but hewn in the living stone. Nowhere do the domains of nature and of art trench so closely upon one another. The character of the process seems to remove us more than any other from the ordinary world, and make us feel as if penetrating into the dominion of beings of another race. Any excavation, natural or artificial, an ordinary mine or cave, is not without a degree of awe; the removal from the broad glare of day and the vault of heaven above us, into the bowels of the earth or the heart of the solid rock, is in itself a solemn thing, and one which seems to bring us into an unusual proximity to the world of spirits. And much more, when the excavation is one not designed for the common purposes of life, but the very shrine of evil beings, replete with their images, and set off with all the effect of a strange and wild, yet awful and solemn architecture. Truly these were places where the actual presence of the demons of hell might have been looked for among the dark rites of their deluded worshippers.

The cave-temples of Hindostan derive a great advantage over the analogous excavations at Petra and Nakshi-Rustam, from their style of architecture being one which probably owes its origin to this mode of construction, or at least one which is well and completely adapted to it. We here see rock-architecture in its genuine and natural form, and not, as in those instances, the mere application of a style nurtured and brought to perfection by a quite different process.² The strange pillars in the cave of Elephanta are just what such a mode of construction demands. Their uncouth and fantastic forms would be equally out of place

¹ See p. 56.

² See Heeren's *Asiatic Nations*, i. 74.

as supports to the frieze of a Greek portico or to the tall arches of a Gothic church, but the wit of man could not have devised anything more thoroughly appropriate for an idol-temple hewn in the rock. The pillars have, just as they should, a sort of stalactite character; they do not seem built there to support a weight laid upon them, but, as they are, of a piece with the roof. Their form is rather that of balusters than of columns, and they are supported by vast pedestals; or, to speak more accurately, the operation of cutting into what was held to be an ornamental form was not extended to the lower part of the square mass, which was probably first disengaged. The capital, though formed merely of mouldings, is complicated, and not easily described. But we must remark the stilt or *dé* above the capital, and the manner in which it spreads into the roof; this would seem to be the rudest and most primitive form of the bracket-capital, though it has less projection, and extends only in two directions. The pillars or balusters are fluted, a very natural source of decoration for any monolith or quasi-monolith column, whether excavated or structural.

One of the temples at Ellora is on some grounds a more remarkable production than that of Elephanta, though the latter seems more typical of excavated architecture. Instead of the multiplied and flat roof colonnades of Elephanta, we have here the entire arrangements of a Christian Church; the remark before made, that Buddhism presents in its buildings, as well as in its tenets, a Satanic mimicry of the coming Gospel, applies with still more force to the long aisles and apsidal termination of the present temple; even so minute an arrangement as the two detached pillars in front find their like in the plan of many an early Basilica. The nave, for so one cannot help speaking, is divided from its aisles by tall and massive octagonal pillars, without bases or capitals, but with a sort of band of sculpture placed rather higher than the centre. These pillars immediately support a kind of entablature of very bold projection; from this rises the roof, which is exactly of the pointed-barrel form, and marked by ribs. The apse is filled with the shrine of the deity of the place, covered with diabolical sculptures, and crowned with the bulbous top to be hereafter mentioned. This, which is manifestly the centre-point of devotion, occupies ex-

actly the position of the high altar in a Christian temple. The two detached pillars are different from the last; the upper part only is octagonal, and richly sculptured; the lower portion is left square and plain, with a curious finish at the point where the chamfer, as one may call it, commences. Another Basilican temple occurs at Salsette, which appears designed in a more enriched style, the pillars being described as fluted, with sculptured capitals, and representations of elephants on the abaci. At Karli is another example of an arched roof supported by columns; their capitals are described¹ as surmounted by a well sculptured male and female figure with their arms encircling one another; these are seated on the backs of elephants which are represented as if crouching under the weight which they sustain.

Of structural remains in Hindostan, the principal are those temples with which we are familiar under the name of Pagodas. It will not be needful to enumerate their several classes and varieties which will be found enumerated in Mr. Fergusson's work, as they are for the most part rather "naological" than architectural. A general character runs through all; great massiveness of outline, relieved chiefly by external sculpture, a lack of windows, and a general want of all feeling of the beautiful. Indeed, if the Greeks be truly said to be worshippers of the *καλόν*, it must be confessed that the Hindoos were equally devout votaries of the *αἰσχρογόν*. As long as the Taylor Building at Oxford is not the type of a genus, the pagodas of Northern Hindostan must be allowed to present, in their external lines, the most perverse and unsightly form of any class of human erections; and those of the southern provinces may fairly rank second in the scale. The Chinese buildings have at least the merit of being grotesque, the Indian are simply ugly. And this utter want of taste of outline is the more remarkable in a people who in their internal architecture, their colonnades and roofs, had certainly made no mean progress. At the same time the hideous shape of the temple must be allowed to be highly appropriate to the uncouth and monstrous images to whose service it is dedicated.

The most apparent difference between the temples of Northern and Southern India, consists in the form given to the *Vimana*, a square building or tower which forms their most important

¹ Seeley's Wonders of Ellora, p. 71.

portion. In the former this is perpendicular for a very small portion of its height, the rest consisting of what has been sometimes dignified with the name of a spire, a preposterous thing with curved sides, but which yet retains its square section. In the older examples the diminution at the top is inconsiderable; in more modern structures the spire, if we are so to degrade that name, becomes more and more pointed. It is finished with a kind of bulbous cupola.

In the pagodas of southern India, the form is essentially a pyramid, although broken into numberless little stages, so that the pyramidal outline is more or less lost, according to the extent of their projection. Moreover, it does not rise directly from the ground, the lower part being perpendicular, as in the northern temples. In fact the pyramidal portion answers to the spire of the northern vimana, and assuredly has the better claim of the two to that title. The difference between the uninterrupted ascending line at the angle of an Egyptian pyramid, and the perpetually broken one of a Tamul pagoda, is exactly analogous to that between the bold sharp outline of the spires of Salisbury or Freyburg, and the broken, jagged, uncertain line which has usurped its place at Strasburg and Antwerp. The stages are marked by bold horizontal cornices, and are richly decorated with statues in niches, columns which often support the cornices, and other ornaments, which bring before our mind the general effect of the cinque-cento style.¹ There is the same multiplicity of parts, the same system of small decorative columns and entablatures, the same imposing, though barbarous richness. The whole is finished with the same domical ornament as in the northern variety, to receive which the pyramid is truncated.

To the Vimana is attached a *Mantapa*, usually square, of about equal size, but of less height, and diminishing towards the top, not by curved lines, but in successive ranges of little terraces. These structures seem at first sight to have somewhat of a Chinese aspect; but the buildings of the latter people have not the same excessive multiplication of parts; their divisions are really the roofs of different stories: and the Hindoo erection,

¹ This is not infrequent in Hindoo buildings; the Kailasa at Ellora has quite the effect of a large cinque-cento chest.

happily for itself, wants the strange treatment of the angles of the roof, which distinguishes the architecture of the Celestial Empire. These little projections are rather to be considered as a carrying out of the same principle as the bracket-capital.

Another variety of Hindoo architecture, that of the Jains, presents a remarkable feature in the employment of the apparent dome. The prevalence of this form, especially when we take into consideration the Indian dislike to the arch, appears a most curious phenomenon. An objection to a form may be easily understood when it rests either on æsthetical or on symbolical grounds; but a rooted antipathy to the most natural, appropriate, and secure method of constructing a favourite form is something unintelligible, and apparently irrational. But be this as it may, the apparent dome, precisely the same form, it would seem, as that of the treasury at Mycenæ, is a most popular feature of this architecture.¹ These domes occupy the centre of their halls or mantapas, being supported on eight columns placed so as to form an equilateral octagon; their entablatures support a story of sixteen sides, on which in most cases the dome immediately rests, though sometimes another stage of thirty-two sides is interposed.

The doorways of all these structures seem to be square-headed, with jambs and lintels more or less richly adorned. But a very curious feature, and one which again brings cinque-cento to our mind, is the very frequent occurrence of a decorative pair of columns, one on each side the aperture, and evidently intended to be taken in connection with it. In some cases the stilt, or something analogous, appears, and calls up the notion of the little bit of entablature which architects of that date (as, indeed, others too, both before and since,) were so fond of inserting over columns in similar situations.

It has been implied in several places of the present chapter, that this ancient Indian architecture² owes its origin to that excavation of the solid rock by which so many of its noblest monuments are actually formed. If so, the caves of Elephanta, Salsette, and

¹ Fergusson, p. 18.

² This view is confirmed by the authority of Heeren, (*Asiatic Nations*, ii. 55,) who says, with every appearance of probability, "It can

scarcely be maintained that a people who had already been accustomed to build in the open air, should subsequently begin to lodge their divinities in under-ground temples."

Ellora, though probably far from being the earliest executed, must be considered as the prototypes, or representatives of the prototypes, of the structural remains. This opinion is contested by Mr. Fergusson and also in the work on Egyptian Antiquities published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, both of which writers suppose the cave architecture of India to be merely a reproduction of anterior structural buildings. The grounds on which I maintain the contrary view will be more largely discussed, after that an examination of the style which is more generally allowed to have a similar origin, that of ancient Egypt, shall have enabled us to class together those common features in the two forms which seem to refer them to this excavatory parentage. A few remarks, however, which have especial reference to Hindostan, will not be out of place at the present stage of our subject.

The fact of a style having one particular origin is very far from preventing forms and details borrowed from other sources being incorporated with it. Wooden structures must have existed among almost every nation, and, as was observed in the last chapter,¹ may coexist with the employment of caves. An architecture then, which borrowed its principal forms, and above all, its general effect and character, from the one source, might, in the gradual progress of its development, derive both ornamental and constructive features from the other. Thus in Egyptian architecture, details, and even forms of columns, are found manifestly traceable to a totally different origin from that which gave birth to the general style. And in the Indian monuments also several details are clearly wooden. Mr. Fergusson mentions what he calls a flying buttress, a sort of twisted twig leaping to the entablature from a bracket-capital placed some way down the column; nothing can be more wooden than the whole notion, and it has pendants which look in his engraving as if they had absolutely been turned in wood. So too, the appearance of beams at Elephanta, though it has been otherwise accounted for, need be no obstacle to our theory, if we suppose that, between the time of the earliest excavations and of those at Elephanta, structures had been reared in which the wooden roof had been introduced. The old cave architecture might have returned to its original material, bringing with it some features of the build-

ings which had in the meanwhile been raised above ground. At the same time it is difficult to see how, under any circumstances, the wooden origin of the Elephanta roof is compatible with the universal prevalence of stone roofs in Hindoo structures.

Still less extraordinary is it that the *outlines* of buildings should receive new forms unconnected with the original source of their architecture. Grecian architecture is not less truly to be referred to a timber origin, because there is nothing distinctively wooden about its theatres, or about the choragic monument of Lysicrates. Forms of outline do not necessarily depend upon styles of architecture; intimate as is their connection, constant and extensive as is their mutual influence, they are still in themselves independent, and the origin even of those of each class which are most intimately bound together, may yet be altogether distinct. Many other circumstances have at least as much sway over the outline of a structure as the direct requirements of the style in which it happens to be built. This must take place even when, as in Chinese and Grecian architecture, the origin of the style supplies an outline for the building, as well as a particular system for its construction. But much more would the necessity be felt in a style whose origin was that which we attribute to the architecture of Egypt and India. Excavation can supply little more than an internal system; it may give a façade cut in the rock, but it cannot supply an outline; such a work as the Kailasa, where the rock is cut away all round, seems to belong to a later stage, and almost implies the previous existence of structural buildings. The excavatory architecture then, when it came up into daylight, brought with it the elements of a style of architecture, the columns, architraves, roofs, &c.; but its subterranean sojourn had not provided it with a system of external outlines: for those it had necessarily to seek above ground. And it is therefore not to be wondered at, if the architects adopted any outline which suited their requirements, whether by drawing upon their own imagination, or by imitating any objects, natural or artificial, which were most adapted to their purpose. We may therefore grant the form of the vimana to be, as has been supposed, an exaggerated altar, or a copy of the native hut, without at all impugning the excavatory origin of its architectural style.

With regard to the pyramidal form, it is admitted even by authors¹ opposed to our view, that it is probably derived from artificial mounds of earth, an origin which seems at once to connect that kind of outline with excavatory architecture. For if we conceive excavations to have been the real origin of the style, if we suppose its construction and internal system to have been developed in the cave temple, it is almost a part of the same process, that, as soon as it was released from its imprisonment in the bowels of the earth, it should adopt for its favourite outline an imitation of the external appearance of its former dwelling-place, the rocky hill. Without, we have an artificial mountain; within, we have a representation of that mountain scooped out, as in the first form of the architecture, into interminable colonnades and passages. No better analogy can be wished for to defend the theory here maintained as to the origin of Indian architecture.

But even granting every variety of outline which Indian buildings assume to have an origin totally irreconcilable with the idea of excavations, it would prove nothing. We are now concerned with the origin, not of the outlines of Indian pagodas, but of the forms of Indian architecture. Those who, with the present writer, see in the interlacing arches and vaults of a Gothic minster a stone copy of a Northern forest, do not attribute to that source its outline and proportion, its cruciform shape, its high roofs, its transepts, chapels, and apses. And though many arguments have been brought against that theory, I am not aware that this has been alleged as any inconsistency in its supporters. And it is no more than is here assumed with regard to the architecture of India. Its distinguishing architectural features are traceable to one source, its outlines are borrowed from many others.

Such are the remains of ancient Hindostan: structures which indeed exhibit a vast improvement on the rude forms described in the last chapter, but which are still essentially barbarous, devoid of fixed principles, and lacking all perception of beauty. Our next inquiries will introduce us to a style which, though neither its parent nor its offspring, is undoubtedly kindred, and in which

¹ Egyptian Antiquities, i. 200. See Heeren, ii. 87.

its leading idea, so far as it has one, is far better and more artistically carried out. The Indian monuments, those at least which now exist, appear to be of much more recent date than the Egyptian; their chronological series begins about the point where that of Egypt ends, and reaches down to our own day. Yet in a scientific inquiry they claim an earlier place; they represent an analogous style in a less advanced stage, so that the temples and palaces of the Pharaohs will form the appropriate sequel to buildings many ages their juniors. Such is the diversity of the fate which art experiences; in one nation it springs at once to perfection, in another it drags on a lingering existence for centuries, and never attains any high degree of merit. The Hindoo and the Chinese still labour on models which were essentially the same when the architecture of the Dorian was yet in its infancy, while the fluted column was still a post, and its architrave a horizontal beam. In the mean time Europe has seen the frieze of the Parthenon, the dome of the Pantheon, the endless arcades of the Basilica of St. Paul, the cupola of St. Sophia and the minarets which profane it, the lantern of Worms, the dome of Florence, the spires of Coventry and Freyburg; and all these the types of styles, the models of countless other edifices. The arts and institutions of the East were found essentially the same by Alexander, by Mahmoud, and by the conquerors of our own day. Who can trace the countless revolutions which have been experienced by those of nations west of the Euphrates?

CHAPTER IV.

OF EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

THE architecture of the ancient Egyptians, as was remarked in the General Introduction, is one that marks a most important epoch in the history of the art. Taken merely as representing a stage in the development of architecture, it is highly interesting, being the first mode of building which is really deserving the name of a style; the earliest form constructed on definite

and scientific principles, or seeking to realize an ideal of its own. Compared with the Indian monuments, the difference is immense. The Hindoo architecture has no meaning, no idea, no leading principle ; it is a wild product of mere fancy, unchastened by any certain laws of taste. But the Egyptian buildings, barbarous and uncouth as they seem beside the meridian splendours of Athens, and disfigured by sculptures hardly less monstrous than those of the Hindoos themselves, are manifestly the work of no despicable intellect. An Egyptian temple has its type as truly as a Grecian one, it is the carrying out of an idea to which all the parts subserve, it is a genuine whole, a great harmonized creation. Hindoo architecture is hardly a style at all in the highest sense ; Egyptian is as truly a style as a Grecian, though one of infinitely inferior merit.

But when we consider the history of these monuments, their claim to our study and admiration grows immeasurably upon us. Among their number are found the most ancient of existing buildings ; the cities of Egypt supply examples betokening a matured style of art, and exhibiting the greatest richness and magnificence, at a period when the rest of the world can afford nothing beyond a few scattered and uncertain fragments. The sumptuous and highly finished temples of Thebes are possibly of higher antiquity than the rudest fragment of wall at Tiryns or Messaligion. And when we further reflect upon the character and history of the extraordinary nation by whom they were reared ; their early learning and civilization ; their institutions and philosophy, combined with their strange and degrading idolatry ; when we remember the prominent and awful position which Egypt occupies in Holy Scripture,—the land of Ham the outcast and accursed, the very type of all darkness and spiritual bondage, and the scene of the most awful judgments which revelation has recorded ; when we pursue the investigation through profane history, and see Egypt the central point of Grecian wonder and speculation, a nation marked out from all others as the very land of marvels in nature, art, and manners ; retaining too its arts and its worship under the successive domination of Persian, Macedonian, and Roman lords ; when we look on still further to Christian days, to Alexandria with its famous Patriarchs, and the desert blooming like the rose with the virtues

and miracles of saintly hermits, and reflect how many of the temples of the old idolatry were consecrated to a holier worship; when finally we see how all alike have perished, how the idol temple and the Christian church have alike fallen beneath the wasting grasp of the False Prophet, and behold a few wandering Arabs the only tenants of the palaces of the Pharaohs and the mighty shrines of their dark idols: when we thus compare ancient grandeur and present desolation, ancient empire and present slavery, the picture is one which no other land can rival, and the imperishable monuments of Egyptian art remain as witnesses of more and mightier changes than any work that human power has ever reared.

The first idea raised in the mind at the mention of Egyptian architecture is probably that of the pyramids; those marvellous productions of human labour which will probably afford food for curious speculation as long as the world remains. But though they have their value in elucidating several points to which we shall soon have to refer, they are hardly, in the strictest sense, specimens of Egyptian architecture; they are the most gigantic efforts of building that the world has ever seen, but the process which reared them could scarcely be, in the highest view, an architectural one. As in almost every other country, the buildings dedicated to religious worship afford the most extensive and the most typical specimens of the art as practised in ancient Egypt.

It is very remarkable that, although the construction of the entablature is the only one practised in the enriched Egyptian structures, which indeed exhibit that mode of building on a vaster and bolder scale than any others, there can be no doubt but that the architects of that country were well acquainted with both the form and principle of the arch. The apparent or horizontal arch, both semicircular and segmental, is found at Thebes and Abydos; and at Syout or Lycopolis are several segmental arches cut in the rock. But besides this, Sir Gardner Wilkinson gives an engraving of a genuine arch of stone of the date 600 B.C., and considers that arches and vaults were constructed of brick as early as 1540 B.C. The country possesses but little timber; a want which led to a common employment of brick, and especially of brick vaulting, in domestic architecture. A true

arch of the horse-shoe form, and another of the common semi-circular kind, both constructed of bricks, exist at Thebes. The pointed arch,¹ of stone put together without cement, and without a key-stone, is found at Djebel-el-Barkal. And more than one pyramid exhibits that substitute for an arch, constructed of two inclined stones, which is familiar to the students of the first ecclesiastical architecture of our own island.

The invention of the arch in Egypt was doubtless an effect of the use of brick; in that material, it is impossible to unite distant points without some such contrivance; so that its want is more felt than in a stone architecture, where blocks of almost any size may be employed as architraves. In the latter the arch is merely a convenience, as dispensing with the vast labour required to move and adjust such masses; in a brick architecture it is absolutely necessary, if anything beyond mere walls is to be erected. We may thus easily account for the peculiar position of the arch in Egyptian architecture. The great temples are built of stone; and their style was probably matured, or at least greatly advanced, before the introduction of bricks as a building material; and this style was doubtless one that was at once prized and admired as mere art, and consecrated by religious symbolism and associations. We can, therefore, readily imagine that the kings and priests of Egypt, to whom the diminution of their subjects' labour was certainly no very important consideration, might forbear to innovate upon the accustomed forms of their temples by the introduction of even so great an improvement as the arch. Hence it is that the arch, though known in its perfect development, remained only in occasional use as convenience might dictate, but never became a feature in the decorative system of Egyptian architecture.

That architecture is, on the contrary, as complete a carrying out of the rival construction as can be imagined; and shows a thorough grasp of its capabilities, both mechanical and ornamental. It is only the immeasurable difference in point of taste that at once places it so far below the products of Grecian skill. Boldness, vigour, and consistency are there in no less perfection, but the refined and delicate perception of beauty is absent.

¹ Ramée, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, i. 306.

As in all entablature styles, the fullest development of Egyptian architecture is to be found in the portico ; and as the general outline of that feature, as exhibited in perfection by the Greeks, is so familiarly known, I may be perhaps allowed to anticipate in some measure a subsequent chapter, in order to compare the less known and less perfect forms of Egypt with the typical productions of Hellas.

The character of an Egyptian portico is heavy and massive ; it has indeed been¹ shown by admeasurements that its proportions are not actually more so than some of the earlier and more massive specimens of the Doric order ; but the Grecian examples are merely firm and substantial, in the Egyptian both the composition and the details seem not only massive, but actually clumsy and uncouth. The first great difference in the main outline is, the entire absence of that most beautiful and necessary finish of a Grecian portico, the pediment, which of itself gives a flat and unfinished appearance to the building. Grecian architecture is indeed horizontal, and rendered so by the very principles and genius of the style, but there is never any feeling of incompleteness ; an Egyptian portico without a pediment is an object to which the eye can never be reconciled ; the flat line is so painfully and abruptly marked, that we can never divest ourselves of the idea that a pediment has been destroyed. The sides present also a most important difference. The most satisfactory form of a Grecian temple is certainly the peripteral, which has colonades all round ; but even in the form called *in antis*, when the columns do not extend along the whole front, the ends of the side walls are brought into harmony with the colonnade by being made to assume the form of pilasters. But the Egyptian portico is terminated by the ends of two immense walls, without any attempt to harmonize them with the pillars ; and these walls moreover in many cases slope inwards at a very perceptible angle, in a manner very far from agreeable to the eye, or satisfactory upon any principle of taste. The result is simply the entire destruction of the genuine idea of a portico. This we conceive as composed of an entablature and pediment, resting on a colonnade, which forms the predominant feature of

¹ Egyptian Antiquities, i. 101.

the whole ; but in an Egyptian portico, the colonnade is something secondary, and seems merely a relief or interruption to the wall, which exists above and on each side.

And as if the Egyptian architects endeavoured of set purpose to hinder their colonnades from standing out as bold and prominent objects, a still more perverse and barbarous method of effecting this intention did not fail to occur to them. This was no other than actually building up the intercolumniations, sometimes up to more than two-thirds of the height of the pillars. Thus while the Grecian column stands forth, free and unencumbered from base to abacus, in all its pure and simple grandeur, the lower part of the Egyptian shaft peeps forward with difficulty from out of the mass of wall by which it is choked. And this uncouthness leads to another ; as a passage is necessarily required to the interior of the portico, we might have expected that, though not allowed equally by every intercolumniation, one at least might have been left free to supply the necessary opening ; but no, the wall has taken possession of every thing, the central intercolumniation is filled up with a doorway, with its jambs built up against the pillars. Sometimes this would seem to arise from simple perverseness, for "the doorway of the portico of Denderah, and of other temples similarly constructed, is formed by two upright jambs, without a lintel to unite them at the top."¹ The judgment of charity, in one who has had no opportunity of observing whether they exhibit any signs of mutilation, would be that such a lintel may have been destroyed. At all events, this strange practice helps very much to produce the apparently desired effect of giving the portico the look of a perforated mass of masonry, and reducing the intercolumniations to little better than holes in the wall.

From this insertion of a doorway results yet another violation of beauty and proportion. An entrance becomes a central point, and must be treated as such ; it requires to be marked out as something conspicuous, around which the other features may group ; hence the central intercolumniation, as containing the doorway, is made of much greater width than the rest. Now the whole idea of a portico absolutely repudiates any such cen-

¹ Egyptian Antiquities, i. 100.

tral point ; its whole beauty is derived from a quiet and equal harmony, admitting no commanding centre, but rather requiring a democratic equality among its members ; its unity does not consist in the predominance of any one point, but in the accurate adjustment of all. And after all, this attempt of the Egyptian architects to provide the portico with such a central point is eminently unsuccessful ; all that their device effects is separation rather than unity ; they do but divide their colonnade into two unconnected parts with an awkward gap between them.

Another important difference between the buildings of the Greeks and the Egyptians will be found in the habit indulged in by the latter of covering almost every foot of their structures with sculptures, human, animal, and otherwise. Not only does the frieze, the seat of so many glorious emanations of the Grecian chisel, come in for its share, though merely in an incidental manner, as one portion of the wall ; but the very pillars are loaded with these preposterous and hideous representations. This again is a sign that the portico is merely a perforated wall ; even the columns are merely a part of it, which happen indeed to stand to a certain extent detached, and to have an approach to the cylindrical form, but which have no distinct existence, and are consequently brought under the same general laws as the other portions of the masonry. If a Grecian architect had chosen thus to enrich his external walls, we may still be sure that he would never have thought of extending this source of decoration to the detached and totally "self-contained" blocks of his colonnade.

To look further into details, we find the beautiful gradations and projections of the Grecian entablature quite absent ; we have little more than a piece of the wall assuming its form. This is crowned with a rude cornice, a large round moulding, which at Denderah is actually continued down the sloping sides of the façade, (once more identifying the wall and the entablature,) and finally finished with a vast projecting hollow, which again occurs at the top of the intercolumniary walls. But, what is perhaps strangest of all, a large block, called the *dé*, is inserted above the capital, forming a distinct and prominent member, and utterly destroying the connection between the column and its architrave.

It seems almost to forestall the barbarism of Roman and Revived Italian architecture,¹ by which a detached fragment of entablature is stuck upon a column, with no purpose but to outrage proportion, and, moreover, if it chance to be in an arcade, to separate the column from its arch. It would appear however that this strange perversity, which appears altogether unaccountable, has met with admirers. Denon, as quoted in the little work from which we have borrowed so much, observes, "This architectural member, which I have never seen but in the Egyptian column, gives freedom to the capital, prevents it from appearing crushed by the architrave, and produces so good an effect to a person who approaches the pillar, that I am surprised it has never been imitated." This arrangement has its parallel, one perhaps not altogether accidental, in the stiling of arches, which is in most cases almost equally unsightly.

The forms of Egyptian columns and their capitals are very various. In the latter, which certainly in many instances possess no small degree of beauty, the architect seems to have been altogether unrestrained, and to have given no less scope to his fancy than the designers of our own Gothic buildings. Especially does every form of vegetable life seem to have been called into requisition; the capitals of the Egyptian temples might almost serve as a *hortus siccus* for the botanical traveller, as scarcely any plant of the country has failed to obtain admission among those called upon to add richness to the temples of its divinities. And though they can seldom or never be put in competition with the luxuriant richness of the Corinthian acanthus-leaf, or with the exquisite grace and delicacy of early Gothic foliage, the vegetable capitals of Egypt are very far from despicable. The usual form is nearly the same, namely the reversed bell, evidently borrowed from the calyx or cup of a flower. But, while in the Gothic capital this is merely the nucleus from which the foliage projects with such free and luxuriant elegance; in the Egyptian it is the whole capital, the representations of leaves and fruit being simply carved in relief upon its surface; at most the circular outline of the rim is broken up into a scolloped form by a series of large leaves bending outwards. The lotus is

¹ Compare, for a sort of accidental testimony, the remarks on St.

Martin's church, in Egyptian Antiquities, i. 116.

one of the chief sources of these enrichments, and occurs in every conceivable variety of bud, flower, and leaf; the palm, the bulrush, the vine, also occur in every stage of their development. In their whole character, and especially in exhibiting little beyond surface-carving, they bear some analogy to the capitals of the Romanesque style, to which they sometimes present a strong incidental resemblance.

But the representations on the capitals are by no means all of this nature; they are indeed almost infinitely varied. In one form which frequently occurs, though under several varieties, some inquirers have ventured to recognize the original of the Doric order.¹ The dé in this form is much smaller than usual, being more of an abacus, and indeed not more heavy than many Romanesque abaci. Another form, occurring in the magnificent temple of Denderah and several others, is what is called the Isis-headed capital; this is quadrangular, and represents in each face the head of that goddess.

The capitals however, with all their diversities, agree in one or two very important points, which at once distinguish them from the Grecian and its derivative forms. They have not that separate character of their own, as distinct parts of the order, which is possessed by the latter. The dé comes immediately down upon the capital in a very awkward manner; in some examples, where the capital is of foliage, and consequently an abacus especially necessary, the dé, of less diameter than the capital, rises out of the midst of the leaves in a most unsightly way.

The pillars themselves are in some instances square, especially in excavated buildings, and when they have caryatid figures attached; in this latter case they appear to be simple square masses without any pretence to the character of a regular column. They seem to exist solely for the sake of the figures,² to employ which as the actual supports of the entablature would hardly have been in accordance with so massive an architecture.

Most of the columns however are round, though not worked to their form with much accuracy. They have round or square

¹ See Belzoni, p. 178. Egypt. Ant. i. 168. Ramée, Histoire de l'Architecture, i. 288.

² Actual caryatides do however

occur, though rarely. See Egyptian Antiquities, i. 105. Cf. Diod. i. 47. *Ἐπηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν κισσῶν ξύδια.*

bases, and strange to say, the shaft is in many cases narrower just above the base than in its upper part, and is united to it by a kind of reversed capital, curving outward from the base like the Doric echinus. Another form of columns presents a rude resemblance to the clustered pillars of Gothic architecture. The effect, however, is little more than that of convex fluting, if I may be allowed the expression; as these are crossed by a number of concentric rings, they may be considered as an imitation of palm trees bound together.¹

I have thus endeavoured to explain the principal points to be remarked in the elevation of an Egyptian portico, as contrasted with the purer and more graceful forms of Greece. It may not be out of place to give a brief description of such other parts of a temple as throw light upon the style of architecture, avoiding all ritual and symbolical speculation.

The sacred precinct, which is surrounded by a wall, is entered by an enormous gateway or propylæa, sometimes of greater height than the temple itself, and extending in breadth on either side beyond the extremities of the precinct. This is composed of two huge artificial mountains of oblong form, with all their sides inclining; but at a more obtuse angle than the pyramids; and they are truncated at the top so as to present a long horizontal line. Between them is the actual doorway, of comparatively small size, and square-headed. Above it is an enormous lintel, if we may so call it, nearly in the same plane as the rest of the front; it is of immense depth, and finished with a very projecting cornice. The whole of the façade is covered with colossal figures. The outline is, of course, most barbarous and uncouth, as nothing can well be more unpleasing than the sloping walls in such a position, but the general effect of such a prodigious bulk of masonry living with images must be awfully magnificent. These propylæa lead into a large open court in front of the temple, calling to mind the western cloisters of the early basilicas, to which it is exactly analogous; this is *hypostyle* or surrounded by columns, on three sides, the portico itself forming the fourth. The central part is hypæthral, but the pillars support a stone

¹ Egyptian Antiq. i. 103. So Herodotus speaks of παστὰν λιθίνην μεγάλην καὶ ἡσκημένην στόλοις τε φοίνικας τὰ

δένδρεα μεμνημένοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ διαπύρ. ii. 169.

roof connected with the surrounding wall, so as to form a covered passage all round.

At the end of this court rises the portico itself; besides the colonnade forming the grand façade of the temple, there are several rows of pillars behind it, supporting a flat roof of stone. The combination of the huge columns in different points of view is magnificent in the extreme; heightened as the effect must have been by the lavish profusion of sculptured and coloured decorations. One of the magnificent engravings in the great French work on Egypt gives a vivid idea of what an Egyptian temple must have been in the days of its glory; representing the whole architecture and enrichments accurately restored. From the portico we come to the *cella* or actual temple, divided into several apartments; but the only one of any importance in our present view is that next to the portico and entered from it by a doorway; this is a hypostyle hall with columns supporting a flat roof of stone. The others, divided from each other by dead walls, afford but little scope for architectural embellishment, though a wide one for the kindred arts of sculpture and painting.

In the civil architecture of Egypt, the most important fact to be remarked is the constant use of crude brick; the scarcity of timber, as was observed above,¹ occasioned its employment in the construction of the roofs, many chambers having barrel-vaulting of that material. The ceilings were much enriched with coloured ornaments, among which we again meet with the chevron and other decorations similar to those which are so familiar to us in Romanesque architecture.

Such was the architecture of ancient Egypt, the style both of the gigantic remains of the hundred-gated Thebes, where we may best learn what Egypt was in the days of her might, before Persian or Macedonian had crossed her border, and of the comparatively modern, but no less magnificent, piles of Denderah and Edfou. All these, with those of Philæ, Esneh, Syout, Elephantine, and numberless others, are made known to us in their minutest details by those superb volumes which owe their birth to the wild expedition of revolutionary France, and would seem to be almost the only recompense made to the scientific world for the

crimes and follies of an outbreak, which at first proclaimed a no less deadly war against intellect and learning, than against religion and civil government.

Our next inquiry must be into the origin and history of the style of architecture in which these wonderful monuments are reared; one which can scarcely fail to induce the conclusion that it is derived¹ from those excavations in the rock, of which Egypt itself, and Nubia still more extensively, presents so many examples substantially the same in style as the structural buildings. All the distinctive features of the architecture point to this origin, and we may more especially observe that we here find the key to all those peculiarities which stamp upon it a character of barbarism. First of all, its great massiveness may be well derived from this source. In a constructed building, such massiveness implies a greater expenditure of time, labour, and material, than is required in a lighter style; in a mechanical view at least it is a sign of rudeness and imperfection, occasioned either by the mistaken idea that greater strength is thus necessarily obtained, or by an actual want of sufficient skill to produce the same strength with a less amount of material. Hence in the development both of Grecian and Gothic architecture there is a constant tendency towards increased lightness, both as giving, when not carried to an extravagant excess, additional elegance, and as actually saving materials, and thereby time and labour. In an excavated building the æsthetical consideration might indeed possibly have some weight, but the others would have an exactly contrary effect. Where a building is raised from the ground, the more massive its style, the more laborious is its construction; but where the material is a rock to be excavated, the greater massiveness is the product of the less labour; the greater the lightness obtained, the more of the solid rock has to be hewn away. Here we at once have the explanation of the enormous heaviness which the Egyptian architecture always retained; the excavator cut away as little of the rock as was necessary for his purpose; the constructor who reproduced his work naturally exhibited the same massiveness of composition in his first efforts; and moral causes sufficient to account for its retention during the whole continuance of the style, may be

¹ See Heeren's *Asiatic Nations*, i. 152.

found in the appropriateness of such an architecture, both to the "*scale* of the country around, presenting no features but monotony and extent," and to "the unchangeable rules of the Egyptian religion."¹

To the same source we may also trace most of the peculiarities in the elevation of the portico. It was observed above, that, while the Grecian portico is an assemblage of architectural members having a distinct existence, the Egyptian is a wall of which parts are left unfinished or perforated, the pieces of wall between the openings happening to assume the form of columns. This is exactly what we might naturally look for in a style owing its origin to excavations. It is not like the structural building, an assemblance or alliance of distinct parts; it is an essential unity, wall, pillar, entablature, are all physically one thing, parts of one natural block. The temple is not peripteral, for an excavation can rarely have sides; only so much of the rock is cut away as is necessary, hence the colonnade does not extend along the whole length of the façade; a portion of the solid rock is left at each end, which remains in the form of the structural imitation a piece of wall, without any attempt to harmonize it with the columns. And as a piece of rock is left at the sides, so is another piece of the same rock left above; this in the structure becomes an entablature, but still remains a piece of wall, with no particular reference to the columns, but left continuous with the rest of the wall, just as it had been before with the rest of the rock. Hence again the intercolumniary walls; the Greek brought his columns one by one, and set them up as a colonnade; to build a wall between them was not only ugly, but, unless some crying necessity demanded it, a foolish expenditure of labour and material; the Egyptian hewed his columns out of the one solid rock; to leave them free during their whole height, unless it were absolutely necessary, would have been in his case an equally foolish extravagance. He only made such apertures as were necessary for light and entrance, and for the production of something like a decorative front.

And we may even carry out the same line of reasoning into the minuter details of the style. We can in this way account for that otherwise unaccountable feature, the *dé*. It may have

¹ Gau, quoted in Egypt. Ant. i. 149.

been found more easy to carve out the capital, if it were first made comparatively free, than if the whole mass were left immediately above it. A square block would probably be first hewn out, and afterwards carved into the capital, and it is clear that its upper part, left in the block, would not form the same impediment to so delicate an operation as if the entablature itself were close at hand. To the same source is probably owing the omission of the abacus, a feature which marks the division of members distinct both physically and in idea. The capital is a separate block, so is the abacus, it is a tile or flat piece of wood laid upon the capital. But where the building is hewn out of one mass, there is no junction of parts, and consequently no occasion to mark that junction; hence the members which serve that purpose in a structural building do not appear. We may go on to mark the absence of diminution, or rather the strange perversion of it by which the lowest part of the column is oftentimes made also the most slender. Now though this does not result immediately from the process of excavation, but from some principle of taste, however unintelligible; it is difficult to conceive how it could have arisen in a style having any other origin. In a structural building it violates the great rule that every portion should have a support both mechanically and apparently sufficient; it substitutes an appearance at least of weakness where strength is most requisite. But in an excavation, where the members do not support each other, but are kept together by cohesion, this is a consideration which would have but little weight.

The connection of two other peculiarities of Egyptian architecture with the origin here assigned to it hardly needs to be pointed out; these are the square pillars, and the absence of the pediment. The origin of the former is at once shown by the fact that they are of frequent occurrence in the cave temples, and comparatively rare in structures. The square form is naturally that which would be produced by the first efforts to hew a building out of the rock, but it is in the great majority of positions so manifestly unsightly, that to round or chamfer its angles, and thereby produce the cylindrical or polygonal shape, is one of the first processes that would occur in any attempt to form an ornamental style. The lack of the pediment is yet more obviously derived from the same source; as that feature

results from the inclination of the rafters in a timber building, there could of course be no place for it in one hewn out of the rock.

It has been said, that "Egyptian architecture had its origin in two types which were combined—the pyramidal form and the excavation in the rock."¹ A little reflection will show that these two types are in reality identical, that the pyramid is itself the offspring of the excavation. The connection of the mere pyramidal form with this kind of architecture has been alluded to in the last chapter;² but the Egyptian pyramid must not be taken alone, it is but the most perfect development of a tendency which pervades the whole style, namely that of sloping every surface that can by any possibility be made to slope. Thus we have the slanting walls at the side of the portico, the propylæa with their four converging walls; we may even add the doorway, whose jambs so frequently incline inwards. The pyramid is only one application of this principle, though doubtless its most complete carrying out. The author just quoted reverses this opinion, and looks on the pyramid itself as the origin of the other instances of slanting lines.

On the other hand, these lines may be fairly looked upon as one of the earliest and most natural features of an original rock architecture. To excavate a façade of any kind a plane surface is required; so that before the architectural decorations are commenced, the portion of the rock where they are to be cut must be smoothed down to receive them. Now few rocks are absolutely perpendicular, most of them have sufficient inclination to suggest that such a plane surface should be made in a slanting direction, both as requiring less labour, and as better harmonising with the external form of the mountain side itself. This, then, seems to be the most natural way of accounting for the great predilection shown by the Egyptian architects for the inclined plane; and "the façade of Ipsambul," or an earlier one of similar character, may be looked upon not only as the "type of the propyla of Luxor," but of the pyramids themselves. The numerous instances of slanting walls are all referable to this one source, which seems to have had a most indelible influence on Egyptian architecture; the only part escaping is the front of

¹ Egypt. Ant. i. 202.

² Page 62.

the portico. A colonnade with its pillars sloping inwards would be too ludicrous, and too great a violation of apparent, and perhaps real, safety even for Egyptian taste. In the positions where it does occur, the inclination, unsightly as it is, seems rather to give the idea of additional security.

We thus see how every feature of Egyptian architecture may be most naturally derived from excavations in the rock. We may even go a step further. The diversities to be observed in styles of sculpture, and the peculiar character of that prevalent in ancient Egypt, are subjects which do not come within the scope of the present volume; but the manner in which that art is applied to architecture is an important part of our investigation, and may in this case be easily referred to the same origin as the architecture itself. The number of statues in relief which load an Egyptian temple, and their application to the columns as well as to the walls, have been already alluded to. May we not trace this whole system to the rock temples? Figures, large and small, carved in the rock naturally abound among their adornments, and these of course do not stand detached, but are still part of the rock. Consequently the architect who loaded his wall with imagery in relief did in this respect also only reproduce the features of the elder excavator. In Greece, on the contrary, where images were not, any more than columns, hewn out of the rock, this kind of ornament is chiefly confined to one portion, namely the frieze; here, if statuary were to be employed at all, it could hardly be introduced in any other way. And we see the same in the fact that caryatid figures, when they occur, are generally found attached to square pillars, instead of standing free, as they do in Grecian architecture. There the statue, like the column, exists of itself, and its burden is laid upon it; and if it be sufficient for support, no particular object would be gained by building a piece of wall just behind it to destroy the perfection of its outline. With the Egyptian excavator, on the other hand, it was manifestly an important economy of labour to leave such a square mass, instead of finishing the statue all round. The actual caryatides already mentioned may either have been an experiment which failed to meet with general approbation, or an instance of that Greek influence which affects so many of the later monuments of Egypt.

This theory of the origin of Egyptian architecture is one which, as far as I am aware, is not generally contested. The subject is, however, so interesting and important as to demand a somewhat more lengthened examination, the more so as the origin of the analogous Hindoo architecture has been a good deal disputed. In this, as stated in the last chapter, no less than in the more advanced structures of Egypt, I recognize a similar development of rock architecture. We have a similar massiveness of construction, and the same square columns, the infallible marks of an excavated style. For the square form, though so much modified by infinite chamferings, is even more completely the source of the Hindoo pillar than of the Egyptian. It is the germ of the Elephantan balusters, the whole extent of whose height has not been set free from it. And these balusters might afford an argument that the caves in India exhibit a genuine excavated architecture, and not an imitation of structures. They show the same unity between the supporters and the supported mass, and the same consequent disregard of the laws which ordinarily regulate their relations. This was shown in the reverse diminution of the Egyptian column, of which form the baluster is only a fuller development. The bracket-capital, too, retains traces of the like principle; to leave such a projection would be much more natural in an excavatory than in a structural architecture. Nothing can be more completely built upon the idea of original cohesion between the support and the mass supported; making the break gradual tends greatly to diminish the notion of a "huge body ready to fall and crush the occupants,"¹ which seems inherent in the vast flat roof of an excavated chamber. In a constructed style, on the contrary, where the weight simply rests on the pillar, it does not add to the appearance of security, but rather the contrary, by seeming to throw an additional and unnecessary weight upon the shaft. And in Hindoo, as well as Egyptian, architecture, the whole building, including the pillars, is treated as a block for the hewing out of sculpture. The application of this enrichment² to the pillars seems an incontestable mark of this origin; it so

¹ Egypt. Ant. i. 142.

² The decorations of Romanesque shafts, which this remark might at

first call to mind, are of a different character, and seem derivable from fluting.

completely destroys their separate existence and reduces them to mere portions of the aggregate mass.

In one respect however the probable origin of the two styles presents a slight difference. Egyptian architecture, at least as a decorative art, is wholly derivable from artificial excavations in the rock; that of India retains at least one important feature which appears to be borrowed from natural caves. The two are of course closely connected, as artificial excavations were doubtless suggested by natural ones, and were probably in many cases improvements or enlargements of them: still they are distinct in idea, and especially with regard to the feature where the present difference is found, namely the roof. The genuine roof of the Egyptian style is flat; the arched examples are referable to the introduction of brick, and besides do not occur in the most typical edifices. But the arched roof, in the form of the apparent barrel vault, is found in some of the most splendid excavated temples of Hindostan.¹ Now this is a manifest imitation of natural caves: most natural perforations exhibit an approach to the arched shape, and the deep rocky cavern, the *πετρηρεφῇ αὐτόκτιτ' ἄντρα*, might well supply the rude conception of at least the form of vaulting. But in an artificial excavation, the roof is most naturally made flat, as hewing out the rock so as to produce such a vault implies a great additional outlay of labour. This doubtless accounts for Indian flat roofs as well as for Egyptian, as the form would naturally be soon introduced; but the simultaneous, though probably more ancient, occurrence of the arched roof points to the natural cavern as its origin. These excavated vaults might easily give birth to the dome, which, as we have seen, is very frequent in at least one style of Indian architecture. At the same time the dome is so natural a representation of the concave heaven, that it may as naturally be referred to that source.

We may therefore conclude that Egyptian and Indian architecture are two separate products of the excavatory process; historically distinct, neither being imitated from or influenced by the other, but presenting only that analogy and resemblance which might be looked for in two styles of similar origin, however far removed from each other in point of time and place.

The birth-place of Egyptian architecture is certainly to be

¹ See Heeren, ii, 87.

looked for in the rock excavations of Nubia, which stretch from the frontier of Egypt as far as the ancient Meroe. Without attempting to plunge into the early history of Egypt, and the interminable series of its kings, it is clear that there was sufficient connection between that country and the kindred land of Ethiopia to allow of an easy transmission of a style of architecture from one to the other. Some of the Nubian monuments are marked with the names of the Egyptian Rameses, and we also know that Ethiopian princes ruled in Egypt. We might even suppose that the original seats of the Egyptian nation had been higher up the Nile, and that they had gradually descended to the lower part of its course. At all events, it is certain that Nubia contains monuments of every style and date of Egyptian art, as well as those excavated temples which are its first originals. Some of these are of the rudest character, and may be considered as among the very earliest attempts at excavated architecture. Others manifest a great advance in art; in some cases it is even clear that improvements have taken place in the fabric since the period of its original excavation. In others the structures which usually surround an Egyptian temple have been built around the primitive excavated shrine.

No difficulty in the way of receiving this subterranean theory need be found in the fact that the details of Egyptian architecture not only lay all nature under contribution, but even sometimes appear to imitate artificial constructions of other kinds.¹ Those who sought to add decorations, either to the excavations themselves, or to the structures afterwards reared in imitation of them, would naturally seek for ornament wherever it could be found. The native rock might be hewn into an imitation of any natural or artificial object which struck the artist's fancy as appropriate for a column or a capital, as naturally as were the blocks designed for a constructed building, when architecture had ascended from its original dwelling in the rock. No perplexity need be caused by such forms as pillars directly imitating the group of palm trees connected with hoops, and other apparent borrowings from tents or huts. The belief that an architecture originated in excavations does not imply that even while it was confined to ope-

¹ Compare above, p. 61.

rations of that kind, the nation who practised it possessed no other dwelling-places than such holes in the rock.¹ Excavated architecture has been often practised by nations in a high state of civilization, while dwelling in caves seems expressive only of the most utter and degraded barbarism. The tomb, the treasury, the temple, whatever was designed for duration, security, or beauty, would be hewn in the mountain, while the people themselves would dwell around in such huts and sheds as they could provide. And if any forms which might arise in such structures, any groupings of natural objects, or shapes given to artificial ones, appeared to the artist to be adapted for his purpose, they would be as unhesitatingly transferred to the excavated rock as flowers, fruit, and leaves, or representations of human and animal life.

The development of Egyptian architecture appears to have been rapid, though probably not more so than that of our own Gothic, which endured but three centuries and a half. When we consider that Earls Barton is separated from Whiston by a space of no more than seven centuries, we need not be surprised at the former part of Sir J. G. Wilkinson's assertion that about B.C. 1740, six hundred years after the flood, "the style of architecture was grand and chaste, and the fluted columns of Beni-Hassan are of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric, which indeed seems to have been derived from Egypt."² At this time it is clear from Scripture that Egypt was a powerful and civilized state, with a regular government under kings and priests, officers whose existence among a civilized people seems to imply, as its necessary consequence, the existence of palaces and temples. The sacred writings also

¹ See above, pp. 46, 60.

² Ancient Egyptians, i. 44. As to the Doric columns, see above, p. 71. The author must of course decline any controversy as to the dates of individual buildings. But admitting those given by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, it seems more reasonable to suppose an accidental resemblance, such as we have already met with in several instances—the

apparently Romanesque shaft at Mycenæ, for example—than to look upon Doric or other Grecian forms as borrowed from Egypt. Still less is the explanation to be sought for in the wild and infinitely more improbable theory of M. Ramée, (i. 291,) of Grecian colonies in Egypt at some interminably distant period.

throw some light upon Egyptian architecture at a somewhat later period, when the Israelites are described as building "treasure-cities," besides which it has been generally held that some at least of the existing pyramids are the fruits of their compulsory labour. The use of brick at this time in Egypt is also distinctly mentioned. The invention of that material was certainly older; as it is described as that of the tower of Babel, which, from the expressions made use of, would seem to have been the first instance of its employment. It is then very possible that the arched architecture of brick employed by the Egyptians for those common purposes out of whose necessities it grew, may be as old and more strictly of native growth than the more sumptuous style of their sacred and royal buildings. The period of the greatest splendour attained by the latter appears to include from about 1600 to 800 B.C., which includes the most brilliant epochs of Egyptian history, and those to which writers who have given their attention to the inscriptions and other points of national archæology assign most of the great monuments of Thebes. The series of the native Pharaohs continues much longer, down to the Persian conquest under Cambyses; but with Psammetichus, B.C. 650, a Greek influence commences, which may possibly have had some effect upon architecture.

With Psammenitus the line of native kings ceases, and since that time, with the exception of a few revolts against the Persian government, Egypt has always been subject to rulers of foreign race. With the invasion of Cambyses, who consumed many of the Theban buildings by fire, the destruction of Egyptian monuments commences, unless we accept the rumour, certainly uncontradicted by Scripture, which lays an earlier devastating invasion to the charge of Nebuchadnezzar. But the Persian monarchs who succeeded the frantic son of Cyrus pursued a more liberal policy towards Egypt and other conquered countries; no further interference appears to have taken place with the institutions, religion, or arts of the vanquished people. A few remains of Persian antiquities have indeed been discovered in Egypt, which only proves that the Persians who might be resident in the country, like Europeans in India, followed their own fashions, and allowed the natives to follow theirs.

With the conquests of Alexander the Great, a new state of things commences. The foundation of the Greek city Alexandria, and the establishment of the Greek, or rather Macedonian, dynasty of the Ptolemies, brought Egypt within the compass of the Hellenic world. The Greek language and Greek arts now extended not only throughout Egypt, but even to the remotest parts of Nubia. Many Grecian buildings were doubtless erected, and the proximity of their faultless details and proportions was not without influence on the ruder architecture of the country. Both Egypt and Nubia afford examples in which Grecian notions are unquestionably mingled with the pure Egyptian forms. The island of Philæ, which is full of ancient remains, affords, in a temple imitating the peripteral form, a very remarkable instance of the imitation of Greek models being extended even to the arrangement of sacred structures. But neither the Ptolemies nor the Roman emperors interfered with the Egyptian creed; and they probably promoted, certainly they did not hinder, the erection of temples to the native gods in the native style. The superb temple of Denderah or Tentyra, pronounced by Belzoni¹ to be "the most magnificent in Egypt," is a memorable instance, being erected under one of the Ptolemies, and repaired under Tiberius Cæsar. Its style is Egyptian throughout, unless a Greek tinge is to be seen in the columns, which rise without diminution from their bases. As long as the Egyptian idolatry survived, the form of architecture to which it gave birth survived also. With the predominance of Christianity it fell; and when the Patriarchate of Alexandria took the place of the hierarchies of Thebes and Memphis, the Roman architecture of the early Church succeeded in all new religious structures to the forms which for two thousand years had been reared in honour of the gloomy heathenism of Egypt. Many ancient buildings were however converted into churches; several temples have been found where the demon form has been erased to make room for the triumphant cross and the saintly effigy. And now the candlestick is removed from the church of St. Mark and St. Athanasius; and the wandering Arab desecrates, and the traveller gazes with amazement, on the shrines which have witnessed a false and a true religion alike perish from among them.

¹ Page 34.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OF WESTERN ASIA.¹

THERE is no part of the world in which more splendid remnants of antiquity might naturally have been looked for, than in the regions which beheld the rise and fall of the mighty empires of the East. There it was that man first stepped forth upon the renewed earth, when the waters of the deluge had retired ; there arose the first kingdoms the world beheld, and their imperial cities, the most ancient and the mightiest of the works of man. While Sparta, and Argos, and Athens had as yet no being, the kings of the East dwelt in palaces on which the spoils of nations were lavished ; and reared temples to the service of their idols, whose erection might have drained the wealth and the labour of the whole Hellenic world. But Nineveh, and Babylon, and Tyre, have vanished like a dream beneath the stroke of vengeance ; they are become “ heaps ;” for the halls of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, for the tower whose summit was to reach unto heaven, there is now only desolation without an inhabitant, where the visible witnesses of heaven’s truth and justice,

*ἄφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὄμμασι βροτῶν,
ὥς οὐχ ὑπέρφεν θνητὸν ὄντα χρῆ φρονεῖν.²*

But if “ the golden city has ceased,” the race to which it yielded, and which founded a wider and nobler empire, called down no such utter extermination ; princely ruins remain to tell of the splendour of the Great King, who “ reigned from India even unto Ethiopia.” As we have seen the vast remains of early Greece, the everlasting ruins of Argos and Mycenæ, so enough is yet left to witness the greatness of their fabled kinsmen ; the “ harbour of wealth ”³ may still be traced in the palaces and temples of the race sprung, like them, from the golden shower,

¹ The author fears that he has employed this phrase in a sense more extended than its usual acceptance ; but he knows of no other to express the regions west of the

Indus, as opposed to India, China, &c.

² *Æsch. Pers.* 845.

³ *Ib.* 246, πολλὰς πλοῦτος λιμῆν.

and where gold¹ still glittered in untold profusion wherever the sons of Achæmenes had fixed their throne.

It is not however so much in an architectural point of view, as in their bearings on general archæology, and especially philology, that the monuments of ancient Persia are valuable. The remains of sculpture are far more extensive than those of architecture; and some of them are of the highest historical interest, having been recently proved to belong to the first Persian dynasty, and to commemorate such events as the accession of the first Darius. These sculptures, carved for the most part in relief upon the rocks, betoken no contemptible progress in the art, perhaps greater than they had attained to in architecture. In that art, the Persian taste, though very far advanced above that of China, India, or even Egypt, still retains much of that fantastic character which seems to affect all the Oriental nations; it is as far removed from the purity of the Greek, as the barbaric splendours which dazzled Pausanias after the fight of Plataea, were from the simple fare and habits in which he had been bred among the people of Lycurgus.

It appears probable that the arch was very early known in at least some parts of western Asia. Mr. Petit says most truly, "We know that brick was used in the construction of the tower of Babel, and in the cities built by Pharaoh during the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt; and it is not easy to conceive a brick building of any importance that does not in some part or other involve the principle of the arch."² It has also been stated that arches actually occur in abundance among the remains of Nineveh. But from what we have seen of the second instance referred to by Mr. Petit, we may learn how little is implied in the mere knowledge and occasional constructive employment of the arch. There is no evidence whatever to show that the Assyrians or Babylonians³ at all anticipated Rome in carrying out the arched construction as the basis of a style of architecture.

And in the Persian monuments, of which so much more extensive remains have been preserved to us, the arch does not seem to appear at all. We might indeed reckon as exceptions

¹ *Æsch. Pers. passim.*

² *Church Architecture*, i. 17.

³ On the supposed vaults of the hanging gardens at Babylon, and

the complete absence of evidence as to the characteristics of Babylonian architecture, see Ramée, i. 144, 147.

some arched excavations at Nakshi-Rustam, and a window among the ruins of Shah-poor, in which an apparent arch occurs, the head being formed by cutting the upper stone into an arched form. But how little value is to be attached to the former case, our investigations into the cave-temples of India have already shown ; and the latter, though a nearer approach, and probably implying a knowledge of the arch, is not in truth an arch at all, and certainly cannot be brought to prove the existence of an arched style. Besides, it belongs to a later period, Shah-poor having been founded by the Sassanid prince of that name, whose erections can throw no light on the state of the arts under the immediate successors of Cyrus.

Persepolis, the most ancient seat of Persian dominion, retained together with Pasargadæ¹ its place as the religious centre of the monarchy and the burial place of kings, after the seat of empire had been removed to the conquered cities of Susa and Ecbatana. Here it is that we find the most extensive and magnificent remnants of the splendour of ancient Persia, which have indeed been spoken of as "the most magnificent remains of a palace or temple that are to be found throughout the world."² Here we have no arches, but flat gateways of immense height, and of a very rude form, the gateway itself being merely an aperture in a tall mass of masonry ; but the whole is enriched with a profusion of sculptures and inscriptions, and crowned with a singular projecting cornice, formed by a sort of prodigious cavetto. But the most striking features of these ruins are the numerous lofty columns from which they derive their present name of Tschil-Minar, or the Forty Pillars, the numeral being used indefinitely, according to the Persian habit, as in fact they greatly exceed that number. These possess a character quite their own, both their proportions and their details bearing but little resemblance to any other known style of architecture. The height of the column is much greater than in any of the Grecian orders ; the part especially which must be considered as the capital is of enormous altitude, assuming in some cases a sort of bulbous form, in others that of

¹ Grote's History of Greece, iv. 289. See Heeren's Asiatic Nations, i. 135 et seqq.

² Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. Persepolis.

several capitals ranged one upon another. In fact it is hardly a capital in the Grecian sense of a distinct member placed upon the shaft, but is rather a portion of the shaft itself assuming these fantastic forms. In others again animal life is introduced, and the capital consists of two bulls. Besides pillars, ornamental balusters with a single swell are found: both these and the columns are richly fluted.

The principal ruins at Persepolis are attributed to the reign of Xerxes. Besides architectural remains, they are rich in sculpture, both human and animal. The occurrence of colossal sphinxes has been often noticed, but they do not seem to have any connection with the Egyptian sphinxes, with which they are not identical in form: such monstrous combinations of animal forms are altogether in the oriental taste, and were in general use among the ancient Persians, not only in their architecture, but in decorations of other kinds. Thus Aristophanes¹ compares the animals mentioned by Æschylus in his tragedies with those wrought on Median tapestries.

The chief remains of Persian art, beside the ruins of Persepolis, are the royal tombs hewn in the neighbouring rocks, among which recent inquiries have discovered the actual resting-places of the kings most famous in the Grecian wars, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes. The façade of one of the tombs at Nakshi-Rustam exhibits a style of columns somewhat different from those at Persepolis, and approaching more nearly to Grecian ideas; the pillars being shorter, and having something more like a distinct capital, but one still very heavy, and formed of two horses. The entablature is here preserved, which does not seem to be the case with any of the Persepolitan fragments. It is very plain, and, according to Grecian notions, far too heavy for the supporting colonnade. The upper part of the composition, above the entablature, is loaded with sculptures both human and monstrous. It should be remarked that this is not, like the front of the cave at Elephanta, a genuine open colonnade, itself the approach to the excavations, but a mere mask in the Italian fashion, the real entrance being a doorway placed between the two central pillars; this is flat-headed, and crowned by a heavy cornice of the same sort as those already mentioned at Persepolis.

¹ Frogs, 937.

With regard to the origin of this style of architecture, there is no reason to suppose it otherwise than in the main indigenous, though, like the arts of all other nations, it may have been in some degree affected by external influences. More especially might this be expected from the national character of the people, who, according to Herodotus,¹ were of all men the most given to adopt foreign customs. Yet besides this antecedent probability that a Persian architecture might be of other than native design, there does not seem any cause for supposing that it was so in point of fact. M. Ramée mentions, and refutes, an opinion which derives the airy and slender columns of Persepolis from the massive piles of the Pharaohs;² but he gives some countenance to one hardly less extravagant which seeks their prototype in the temple and palace of Solomon, and supposes that the arts were derived into Persia from the captive Hebrews, found by Cyrus on his conquest of Babylon. This is the more singular as in another part of his work³ he shows that the most essential features of the Hebrew architecture, were, as might be expected, of Egyptian origin. There seems no reason to suppose that this Persian style is, as he expresses it,⁴ composed of Phœnician, Egyptian, and Indo-Persian elements. How far it may be Median⁵ rather than Persian, and what exact amount of national distinction is expressed by those two names, is another question, and one more difficult to answer. "That which is certain," as M. Ramée says, "is that the architecture of ancient Persia seems derived from a timber construction, like the Grecian architecture. The arts of the eastern provinces of central Asia, of Media especially, have served to give a character to the style of the palace of Tschil-Minar."

The timber origin of this style seems highly probable; it must be considered as a development parallel and analogous to the Grecian architecture; each starting from the same primitive original, but one of which derived from the superior genius of the people an elegance and sublimity which it never attained among the other. The Persian architecture seems to occupy a middle place in the scale of merit between what we must consi-

¹ I. 135.⁴ I. 127.² So Heeren, i. 148.⁵ Heeren, ut suprà.³ I. 168. 177.

der the barbaric edifices of India and Egypt, and the full perfection of Grecian art. If they are very far removed from the uncouthness and clumsiness of the former, the entire want of taste which is clearly distinguishable among all their splendour; they still remain equally remote from the perfect refinement of the Greek, the mind attuned to grace and harmony, the sensibility which detects in a moment the slightest violation of their laws. The Persian character, comprising as it did much that was noble, was still, in the Greek sense, essentially barbarous; it belongs to a state of society distinct at once from the civilization of modern Europe, and from the elder forms of ancient Greece and Italy. The Persians were not, like so many Asiatic nations, mere destroyers, mere momentary conquerors, either sweeping over lands like a flight of locusts, or founding transient empires like Babylon and Nineveh. The people of Cyrus, unresisting slaves of a despot as they may have been, had in them a spirit of national vigour and independence which led to that phenomenon, almost unique in history, the restoration of their monarchy after a foreign domination of nearly six hundred years. After a period of Macedonian and Parthian oppression lasting for more than double the time which elapsed between the first Cyrus and the last Darius, the old Persian empire sprang up afresh to renewed existence, with its government, feelings, and religion as unchanged as if no Grecian torch had ever been hurled against the palace of Persepolis, and no Parthian horseman had ever trod the people of Achæmenes under foot. And in modern days, after the further invasions of Saracen, Mongol, and Tartar, we still see Persia remaining a distinct and independent kingdom, after Sardis, and Nineveh, and Babylon have for ages vanished from the earth.

But though the Persian people is certainly not to be confounded with the ordinary rabble of Oriental despots and conquerors, they were very far from having attained a position equal to that of the nations of Greece and Italy. In what the difference consisted, to what causes the superiority was owing which those two lands exercised, each in its own way, over the other nations of antiquity, is a difficult question to determine; still something there is, undefined it may be, but clearly marked and easily to be recognized, which invests them from their very earliest

days with a marked character of superiority even over nations, like the Egyptians and Phoenicians, far more advanced in actual skill and knowledge. And this at once separates Greece from Persia also, though I cannot but think less widely than some have thought, or than actually was the case even with regard to nations, like the two mentioned above, whose formal aspect was much higher than that of Cyrus and his conquering followers. Not to pursue this digression further, the same distinction may be at once perceived in the architecture of the two nations. The Persian monuments lack that perfect purity of taste, that refined and chastened intellect, which distinguishes those of Greece. Yet they must be considered as presenting a close approach to it, when compared with the Indian and Egyptian remains. The genuine column¹ has been drawn out more purely and completely than in either of those styles. It is not the fragment of rock left when the rest is hewn away, nor yet the massive piece of wall, almost as much a turret as a pillar; but the real column, the shaft with its diminution, and all the other elements of the Grecian architecture, are present, only wanting the genius of that wonderful people to work them into perfection. Persian architecture has not the same unity, the same fixed principles, the same carrying out of an idea—in a word, it is not so completely a definite style as Egyptian; but it surpasses it in delicacy and in general æsthetical beauty. The remains of Persepolis, fantastic, irregular, unchastened as is the style they represent, must, when in their full splendour, have been only second in general effect to the faultless structures of Greece.

Their approximation to the Grecian style is doubtless owing, not to any imitation on either side, but to their common timber origin. Though employed in rock excavations, the Persian architecture does not seem, like the Hindoo, thoroughly at home in works of that kind. The façade at Nakshi-Rustam is, as was observed above, a mere mask, an application of the principles of another construction, such a front as an original rock architecture would hardly have produced, but which is perfectly natural, if we suppose a style already matured by a totally different process to

¹ "The columns of Persepolis shoot upwards with a slender, yet firm elevation, conveying a fit image of the stems of the lotus and palm, from which they were probably copied."—Heeren, i. 152.

have been applied to an unwonted material. The style then of these excavations is not to be classed with the original excavatory architecture of Ipsambul or Elephanta, but with that of the remains of Petra, where the Græco-Roman architecture, which had grown up under other circumstances, and out of other materials, is similarly applied as a mere mask to excavations in the solid rock.

The occurrence of bases throughout the Persepolitan remains, and the very great proportion given to them, might seem at first sight to militate against any theory of their timber origin; as it is manifest that the first development of a wooden architecture would be, like the true Doric, without a base. But the progress of Grecian architecture itself is sufficient to show that it will not always continue so; as the style advances, and the original material is gradually forgotten, it¹ provides itself with a feature which appears to be so necessary a finish to a stone construction. And we must remember that we are not acquainted with the first beginnings of Persian architecture;² we have no trace or knowledge of the first rude efforts to reproduce the features of the timber erection in the new material. Our knowledge of the style is confined to a period when it had probably attained its greatest perfection; the existing ruins belong to the most prosperous days of the Persian empire. We know not what was the form of the rude dwellings of the shepherd princes who may have preceded the great Cyrus; we see only the palaces and temples of the religious metropolis of the greatest empire which the world had seen; fabrics which rose at the command of a prince whose word was law from the Indus to the Ægean, and who boasted of sovereignty³ from lands uninhabitable by cold, to regions which heat rendered as inaccessible to man. What may have been the earliest state of the art, what details were exhibited in its first glimmerings of decoration, and by what steps it arrived at its full development, are subjects upon which we can pretend to no information whatever.

From the home and palace of the Great King, "the rich and all-golden seats" of his immediate dominion, we have to turn to

¹ See above, p. 44.

² "The arts of architecture and sculpture must, long before the Persian dynasty, have attained a much

higher degree of perfection than men have been generally disposed to admit."—Heeren, i. 151.

³ Xen. Anab. i. 7.

the western extremity of his realm, and take a brief survey of the monuments which recent discoveries have brought to light in the land of Glaucus and Sarpedon. The investigations of Sir Charles Fellows and, still more recently, of Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, are, as far as concerns philological and ethnographical science, among the most interesting researches of our age. But in an architectural point of view, their value is but small; the remains which may be most safely attributed to the native Lycian people, have but little artistic character. The opinion of Messrs. Spratt and Forbes that no such exist, and that the whole of the rock tombs and inscriptions of Lycia are to be ascribed to its Persian conquerors, has been refuted with a profusion of historical and philological learning in an able review of their volumes.¹ It is there satisfactorily shown that the native Lycians were an original Pelasgian people, and that the inscriptions found in their country are in an independent Pelasgian language and character. Besides this convincing proof, there is no reason to suppose that the Persian residents ever formed a population of any extent either in Lycia or in any of their western conquests; and, above all, the rock tombs of Lycia at once strike us as something totally different from the undoubtedly Persian works in the same material. It is impossible to believe that the same age and nation could have produced the tombs at Nakshi-Rustam and those of which so many examples are given by Sir Charles Fellows. We do not here find a whole colonnade transferred bodily to the side of a rock; the forms are totally different; more adapted to the material, and yet at the same time bearing no less distinct traces of being borrowed from another species of construction. Some of them are, as the author remarks, directly imitative of the timber construction. The most remarkable varieties are of two kinds, of which one exhibits the form of the pointed arch as a finish, while the other has a sort of panelling of horizontal and perpendicular lines crossing: sometimes it exactly resembles a modern door, and is crowned with a pediment of Greek proportions. These two Sir C. Fellows respectively designates Gothic and Elizabethan, terms certainly inadmissible in any formal treatise, but which may serve to

¹ The Ecclesiastic for January, 1847. Art. Lycian Antiquities.

express the incidental resemblances occasionally to be found in the works of distant ages and countries.

Besides the excavated tombs, Pelasgian walls are also found in Lycia and the adjacent countries. One of the Pamphylian examples exhibits the two in close juxtaposition. One can hardly fail to take this fact in connection with the occurrence of the apparent arch, especially as its form is so constantly pointed. The strivings and yearnings of the Pelasgian builders after both the form and the construction have been already spoken of; it would seem that in this country they lighted upon the most graceful variety of the mere shape, without ever attaining to the construction, and were content to apply the form as a source of decoration.

It is hardly necessary to state that the whole of western Asia Minor contains many splendid monuments of Grecian and Roman architecture, which have only a local connection with the original inhabitants or their erections. The most interesting for our present purpose are those which have the least claim on the score of real merit, namely, those where Grecian architecture is exhibited in a debased form, corrupted by intermixture with native styles. The works of Sir C. Fellows exhibit many specimens of this sort, which we may most probably attribute to the rude attempts of the native tribes to reproduce the statelier forms of their more polished neighbours. Columns occur in which Greek proportion is violated both by excess and by defect, and capitals in which the genuine forms of the several orders are but clumsily imitated. An example occurs in a tomb at Mylasa, in Caria, the upper part of which is adorned with quasi-Corinthian pillars of very low proportion, which would really be far from out of place as the piers of an early Romanesque church.

We have now traced the comparatively rude and unformed architecture of early times through nearly the round of the world, and have concluded, as we set out, with that mysterious and ubiquitous Pelasgian race who seem to have been the precursors, if not progenitors, of so many nations, and are yet unthankfully rejected by all. We must now turn to the most illustrious of their successors, and behold heathendom, in its most glorious days, enthroned over the twin harbours of Corinth, and on the Acropolis whence the virgin goddess of Athens looked yet more proudly over her subject seas and islands.

PART II.

OF GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGIN OF GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE.

HITHERTO we have traced the progress of architecture among nations whose influence has been comparatively slight upon the arts and institutions of the world. We have seen empires of vast extent, political and religious systems of almost immeasurable antiquity, architectural works which for vastness and magnificence, for awful and unearthly grandeur, have seen no rivals; piles which seem to surpass the utmost exertions of human strength and skill, and which we might almost deem the workmanship of the demon powers to whose worship they were reared. The pervading idea of all is that of mere physical power; they tell of the inexhaustible wealth and lavish munificence of the rulers at whose bidding they arose; they tell of the unresisting, unreasoning submission of thousands to the caprice of a single despot; they breathe the spirit of gloomy and mysterious superstitions, of ancient and powerful hierarchies rich in hidden and wondrous learning; but the soul of art is wanting. They exhibit man's sway over external nature, calling into his service the proudest trees of the forest, and the mountain rock of the desert, putting forth every mechanical energy, and sparing no riches that human power could supply. But they show not his

sway over the intellectual world, that creative power which needs not the wealth of kings or the labour of slaves, which aims not at mere size and gorgeousness, nor is fettered by the lack of costly materials ; but which works from the treasures of its own mind, and brings forth order, harmony, proportion, in a word, Beauty. Indian, Egyptian, even Persian art, is grand, striking, awful, but it is not, in the highest sense, beautiful : it exhibits power, and even genius, but genius coarse and unrefined, unfettered by the laws of taste and the perception of elegance ; its ornaments are grotesque and fanciful, its magnificence cumbrous and excessive. For grace, simplicity, and loveliness, we have still to look to that wonderful people, who, after the revolutions of so many ages, yet remain the centre of all intellectual greatness, whose history still furnishes the best lessons in the science of man's political and social being ; whose literature must remain to every age as the ground-work of every intellectual study ; from whose poets we derive our first ideas alike of all that is lovely, and all that is sublime ; from whose philosophers we learn the first principles of the first of sciences, the laws of thought, and of the passions which stir the human breast. Such was the glorious land of Greece, the land where The Poet—yes, after all the cavils of philosophical inquiry, the real blind minstrel that we dreamed of in our childhood, the living personal Homer,—breathed forth those songs to which six and twenty centuries have not produced a rival ; where Pericles ruled supreme in the first of her cities, not by the spears of mercenaries but by the magic influence of mind ; where Aristotle first looked into the heart of man, and learned to analyze its deep and mighty workings ; and whence his royal scholar, the best and greatest of universal victors, went forth on the errand of conquest, not to plunder and destroy, but to spread the arts, and language, and manners of immortal Greece to the utmost limits of the civilized earth. The three centuries of Grecian greatness, the single century of its meridian splendour, have had more effect upon the subsequent destiny of the world than all the countless dynasties of Egypt and the East. The latter have fallen, and have left their names alone behind them. Greece is no less fallen, but her possessions have become the inheritance of the world throughout all time. And this is especially true of her admirable architecture ; as it was in

Greece that the art first attained perfection, it was in Greece too that it first acquired a character worthy to be transmitted to other lands. The styles which we have hitherto considered are, on the whole, isolated ; they have but little connection with each other, and have had still less influence upon the architecture of more recent times. As our civilization and literature is in no degree borrowed from China, India, or Egypt, so neither is any form of architecture which has ever prevailed in Europe ; but as a Greek influence has in other respects pervaded the intellect of every European nation, so in architecture it has been especially pervading ; every succeeding form of the art is to be traced up to the Grecian model as its primary source. Its character indeed has been totally changed ; new ideas and principles, constructive, æsthetical, and religious ; have been continually introduced, till all trace of the original pattern has vanished from the most essential features. Still all has been gradual and gentle development and improvement ; dissimilar as are the colonnades and horizontal entablatures of the Parthenon to the clustered shafts and soaring arches of Westminster, the steps between them may be distinctly traced ; the resemblance becomes gradually fainter, but is not effaced by any sudden or violent shock. To trace the course of this mighty development is the object of the remainder of this volume.

Are we to believe that the architecture of ancient Hellas was a native or a borrowed possession ? Many authors of note assert the latter, and look upon the graceful forms of the Grecian portico as derived from the clumsy and cumbrous architecture of the Pharaohs. This belief is attributable to two causes. Men who have devoted themselves to the study of one particular nation, and have made really great discoveries in its history and archæology, are frequently disposed to exaggerate its importance in the general history of mankind, and to look upon it as the one centre from which all improvement has been derived to the remainder of the world. Some who have plunged deep into Indian antiquities have traced up all human knowledge to the votaries of Brahma, and others have done the like by the equally wonderful people of ancient Egypt. There is something very tempting about this latter view, when we consider the immense antiquity and early civilization of that nation, and the eminence

which it had acquired in the arts, perhaps even before the Pelasgian period of Greece. And nowhere did the wonderful character of the Egyptian civilization effect a deeper and more lasting impression than upon the minds of the Greeks themselves. From the first moment that the land of marvels became accessible to them, they became possessed with a regular passion for attributing their own civilization and religion to an Egyptian origin. The second book of Herodotus bears ample witness to the open-mouthed credulity with which his countrymen swallowed down any tale that traced a Grecian custom to the banks of the Nile, and to the effrontery with which the Egyptian priests palmed upon them the most palpable inventions, and artfully wrought in the authorized mythology of Greece to attract more credence to their fraud. The unsuspecting innocence with which the good-hearted old traveller received the most manifest practising upon his powers of belief, and the simple good faith with which he throws himself into the system, honestly labouring to show that Greece had nothing of her own, nothing unborrowed from some barbarian source, must totally disqualify the mere statement or opinion of Herodotus, though himself the most trustworthy of men, from being adduced in evidence of the Egyptian origin of any Grecian rite or institution.

Herodotus nowhere distinctly states that Grecian architecture was borrowed from Egypt; but the idea has been frequently defended in modern times in a purely Herodotean spirit. Egypt has been assumed as the necessary civilizer of Greece, and the tales of Danaus and Cecrops pressed into the cause as so much authentic history. But an investigation into the real facts and probabilities of the case, apart from any preconceived notions, can hardly fail to show that Egypt contributed nothing whatever towards the formation of the architecture of Greece.

First of all, there does not appear to be any resemblance between the two styles, beyond that which cannot fail to exist between any two which employ the same construction. The pervading spirit of each, and all their leading features, are totally distinct from each other. From the general outline of a portico to the presence or absence of an abacus, the two forms of architecture are as completely dissimilar as can be imagined. A few details, common in Greece, rare in Egypt, make up the sum of the resem-

blance, and have been already considered. But it is not even pretended that the distinctive features of Egyptian architecture can be traced in that of Greece. Every principle of Grecian art is violated in the Egyptian structure; and to suppose such an opposite style to have grown up out of a direct and formal imitation, without any great innovation, like the arch, to revolutionize the whole, is contrary to all probability. The constructive origin and the æsthetical expression of the two styles are altogether foreign to each other: the one is the offspring of a religion¹ whose essence consisted in dim and mysterious speculations into the processes of the natural world; in the other we hail the light and brilliant emanation of the worship of pure beauty.

This leads to a second consideration, that there never was a people whose whole institutions more completely bore the stamp of national originality than the ancient Greeks. They possessed a most strongly marked national character,² which, among all diversities of government and dialect, never failed to bind Greek to Greek as fellow-countrymen, in distinct opposition not only to Phœnicians or Egyptians, but to the kindred inhabitants of Lydia, Italy, or Macedonia. Their poetry, their philosophy, their politics, are all the pure growth of the soil; the least tinge of foreign influence is at once discernible. No one can for instance confound the strange mysticism which was imported from Asia in later times with the pure theology of Homer. Grecian architecture, like Grecian poetry, was the natural expression of the national mind; the development of which was influenced³ in many respects by the character of the land in which it rose. It is more than national, it is local, it is bound to the soil and sky of Hellas; Greeks in other lands had their day of splendour, but they never preserved⁴ either their political or their intellectual independence so undefiled as the inhabitants of the mother country.

Finally, genuine history affords not one tittle of evidence in favour of the supposition, and hardly admits its possibility.

¹ See Maurice's Boyle Lectures, p. 112, and the review of them in the "*Ecclesiastic*," for August, 1847.

² *Ib.* ii. 293 et seqq.

³ See Mr. Grote's Chapters on the Grecian Colonies.

⁴ See Grote's *History of Greece*, ii. 337 et seqq.

Now that ancient history is really beginning to be understood, but little weight will be attached to reasonings based on the myth of Danaus, or on the tale of Cecrops, whose Egyptian origin is not even so much as a myth. The intercourse between Greece and Egypt dates only from the reign of Psammetichus in the seventh century B.C., and for some time was as jealously guarded on the Egyptian side as that of modern Europeans with China. It is impossible to suppose that the very first rudiments of Grecian architecture are of later date than this epoch; indeed this has never been pretended by either ancient or modern supporters of the Egyptian theory. They invariably go up to mythical antiquity, and suppose Egyptian colonies to have settled in Greece when its inhabitants were in a half-savage state; an idea which was the mere dream of speculative philosophers, and finds not the slightest authority in the Homeric poems. The effect of the intercourse between Greece and Egypt was all on the Egyptian side; a slight Hellenic tinge was infused into the really inferior nation, to which we may probably attribute some at least of the few approximations to Grecian architecture which have been found in Egypt.

We may then unhesitatingly conclude that the architecture of the Greeks is not to be ascribed to an Egyptian, or to any other foreign origin, but that it is the genuine, unborrowed creation of Grecian intellect. Such an expression as that which commences the article on Grecian Architecture in the Glossary—"The Greeks *undoubtedly* derived much of their *skill* in architecture from Egypt,"—is peculiarly unfortunate. Whatever the Greeks derived from Egypt, their *skill* was surely their own; if any one can suppose, against all evidence, that the Greeks learned from the Egyptians the bare notion of columns supporting an entablature, or even some rude conception of the Doric order, the skill with which they worked their borrowed materials into order, harmony, and beauty was at least as unborrowed as it was unrivalled. But in reality the Greeks learned nothing from the Egyptians; they had neither the necessity nor the opportunity of so doing; their architecture is their own, and is not only not derived from Egyptian models, but has its origin in a totally different material. The one is derived from an excavated rock, the other from a wooden hut. Notwithstanding all the fanciful

nonsense which has been written upon Grecian architecture, from the days of Vitruvius downward, the class of writers of whom he is the great ancestor have at least preserved to us the most important and indisputable fact of its timber origin. Every circumstance of the style distinctly proves it; the features in which Grecian architecture differs from Egyptian as evidently point to this origin, as the corresponding Egyptian forms do to their own totally different source.

The distinctive nature of the parts in Grecian architecture alone affords conclusive proof of its non-Egyptian origin, but would hardly be sufficient to demonstrate its derivation from the timber construction. But such evidence as it supplies decidedly tends that way. A building constructed of stone preserves more distinctness in its parts than one formed by excavation, but less than is found in one constructed of timber. The latter allows an exact coincidence of the physical and the decorative parts; the shaft may be a single post, the architrave a single beam; it is indeed most convenient to make them so. But to provide a block of stone of sufficient length for a column involves much additional labour and expense, while to construct a whole architrave of such a single stone would appear to be altogether beyond the power of man. The tendency of a genuine stone architecture is to diminish the size of its blocks; hence the physical and the decorative parts cease to coincide; one of the latter is continually composed of many stones; and it often happens that the same block may most conveniently form a part of two decorative portions. One can hardly conceive that an architecture thus produced could ever have attained, much less have palpably sought for, that marked distinctness of parts, that completeness of each part in itself, which pervades alike the severest Doric and the most florid Corinthian.

A pillar originally built of small stones would probably have been square, and might not have assumed the distinctive form of the capital; it would most likely have been a less massive form of the Roman pier, and, like that, have been bounded by a mere impost. At any rate it could hardly have failed to remain a detached portion of the wall, and would never have assumed the individuality of the Greek column, which, in idea at least, is so essentially monolithic. The round form alone is not sufficient;

the square pier may become round, like those of Egyptian and Norman architecture,¹ but it does not thereby become a column, it still retains its own character. But in Grecian architecture the true column is everything ; instead of the column being a rounded mass of wall, the square support or pilaster, whenever it does occur, is a flattened column, imitated from, and harmonized with the genuine cylindrical one.

The true column then is a post, it is a trunk driven into the ground, and consequently remains, in its first and purest form, without a base ; it also tapers towards the top, as the trunk of a tree does ; it retains the severe individual unity betokening such an origin ; it stands of itself, totally independent of wall or entablature. Another long beam laid on the top of the posts, or rather several such placed over each other, form the entablature ; it therefore becomes a distinct portion of the building, and is not, as in Egyptian architecture, merely the piece of wall which happens to be over the columns ; and it is farther divided into parts of its own, architrave, frieze, and cornice. From these elements we speedily arrive at the simplest form of the Doric temple ; the order which arose first in point of time, and which consequently exhibits the wooden construction in its greatest purity. "It appears certain," says the historian of the Doric race, "that the first hints of this order were borrowed from buildings constructed of wood, a fact which I cannot reconcile with the supposition of a foreign origin. For we should thus lose sight altogether of the gradual and regular progress by which it advanced to maturity, and suppose that the improvements of foreign artificers, with their peculiar principles, and those of native architects, looking only to the original structure of wood, were blended, or rather violently confused together. Could anything be more natural than that the long surface of the principal beams should be imitated in stone, that the cross-beams with the Doric triglyph should be laid over these, the intervals or metopes being by degrees covered with marble, whilst the cornice, in imitation of carpenter's work, was allowed to project in bold relief?"²

The pediment just mentioned is an essentially wooden feature :

¹ See the Chapter on Norman Architecture.

² Müller's Dorians, ii. 270.

like the Gothic gable, it marks the inclination of the rafters of a timber roof; but, as such a roof may be, as in our own buildings, supported by stone walls, it would not of itself prove the wooden origin of the whole style.

The only argument having any appearance of weight, which I have ever seen adduced against the wooden origin of Grecian architecture, is one contained in the article "Civil Architecture," in the "Penny Cyclopædia," and which at first sight certainly appears to have considerable force, namely that a timber style would have been much lighter, with wider intercolumniations, and in fact more like the later Corinthian than the primæval Doric. The answer to this however is manifest; the architect of the earliest stone portico would be compelled greatly to diminish the width of his intercolumniations, from, the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of procuring blocks of stone of sufficient length to allow the columns to remain at the same distance from each other as while their material was timber. The greater beauty thus attained, as well as the notion of security which leads almost every early style to affect considerable massiveness, would also tend to the same result. A similar cause would also account for the production or retention of the massive columns which distinguish the first Doric; their heaviness does not really seem greater than might be reasonably expected in a wooden column. The subsequent increase in lightness proves nothing to the contrary; it is a natural result of the discovery that constructive necessity does not really require such massive forms, for when the choice is open between them, æsthetical reasons will usually decide in preference of the lighter proportion.

If the timber construction be allowed to be the origin of Grecian architecture, it necessarily follows that that style is essentially distinct from the anterior Pelasgian architecture. The latter, with its apparent arches and apparent domes, is as purely and essentially a stone architecture as the Grecian is a timber one. The Pelasgian buildings, moreover, appear to have been distinguished by a barbaric excess of ornament, and by the greatest splendour that the rude arts of those early times could produce.¹ "In direct contrast with the above," says Müller, "is the

¹ Müller, ii. 266.

simple unornamented character and unobtrusive grandeur of the style unanimously called by the ancients the Doric.”¹ It is indeed difficult to believe that the plain, sturdy, baseless column of the latter order could have been developed out of the Mycenæan shaft, adorned with the chevron, and resting on a fully developed base. The latter betokens at least an equal progress in the development of its own principles, but it also shows that those principles were altogether distinct. To omit the base, where it had been previously known, would be an unaccountable retrogression; to omit, or rather not to introduce it, is the natural course of an original timber development. And it is hard to conjecture in what position of a Doric structure the Romanesque-looking ornaments of the preceding style could find an appropriate resting-place.

The earlier Pelasgian style of Greece was then in no sense the parent of the glorious forms which afterwards adorned its cities; these were the native invention of that race which so worthily became the ruling spirit of her historical ages. The Dorians, says Herodotus,² were the true Hellenes, the Ionians were Pelasgian; and if so, the mythic genealogies justify us in adding that the Achæans were Pelasgian likewise. The Doric architecture is confessedly the oldest of the Grecian styles; it is that of which the others were modifications, we may add, corruptions. The Dorians, whom Müller has so successfully rescued from the charge of neglect of literature and art, were the first parents of genuine Grecian architecture, and brought this their own creation to perfection, without borrowing any ideas from the fallen palaces of the Atreidæ. The only question is as to the date of the glorious invention. Without attempting to dig detailed history out of the mythical mine, still less to assign exact dates to King Pelasgus and King Hellen, or even to Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes, it certainly implies a degree of scepticism which the evidence of architectural remains alone would be sufficient to refute, to doubt that the Dorian migration, however disguised by poetry and tradition, is a true and most important event in early Grecian history. The Dorian stone architecture can hardly be much later than the time of the conquest of Peloponnesus; we cannot conceive that the invaders

¹ Müller, ii. 269.

² In the famous passage, i. 56.

would continue to erect wooden edifices alongside of the great and sumptuous works which the vanquished had reared in stone. If in none of their previous habitations they had learned to convert their wooden architecture into a stone one, the sight of the great Achæan monuments must have been sufficient to impress upon their minds the constructive advantages of the latter material. At the same time they may have preferred, and, as the event proved, wisely, to apply the principles of their existing timber architecture to the new material, rather than proceed by a servile imitation of the monuments of a foreign and conquered race.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE THREE ORDERS OF COLUMNS.

THERE is perhaps no subject upon which more unreasonable writing has been given to the world than upon "the Orders of Architecture." So many and so stringent rules have been laid down for the exact dimensions of the minutest moulding, so many theories have been propounded to account for observances existing only in the imagination of the theorist; above all, such infinite confusion has been produced by not distinguishing between the purity of Greek architecture and the innumerable corruptions of ancient and modern Italy; that, were it not for the intrinsic charm of the subject, the superstructure with which it is overlaid would be almost enough to make the historian of architecture revolt altogether from this portion of his undertaking. One point however at least has been gained within comparatively late years; both theoretical and practical architects have, since the days of Stuart, devoted themselves to the study of true Grecian art, and we are now enabled to set before us its pure conceptions, unmarred by the corrupting and enervating touch of a Vitruvius or a Palladio. The true Doric and the true Ionic are now as familiarly known as the degraded substitutes which had so long usurped their titles; and we have learned that Tuscan and Composite were names and things of which Pheidias remained in that ignorance which is bliss. But it is only in a

theoretical view that this increase of knowledge can be considered an advantage. One had rather see the deluded votaries of pagan art load their shop-fronts or their palaces with the perversions of Italy than with the pure conceptions of Greece. The products of Grecian heathenism neither can nor ought to be reproduced in Teutonic Christendom; and every lover of art must mourn to see the noblest creation of mere human nature made ludicrous by some villainous abuse; the columns of the Parthenon forming a mask for a chandler's shop, or "sash-windows and Pæstum," as a traveller somewhere exclaims in indignation. It is only as one of the loveliest pages in the history of the art, without a wish to reproduce a single architrave or capital otherwise than on paper, that we must give ourselves up for a while to the passing beauty of the shrines where Leonidas and Æschylus breathed forth the pure outpourings of an erring yet not unfaithful heart.

It must first of all be premised that the binding laws which generation after generation of paganizers have set down for the proportions of columns, are, as far as regards Grecian architecture, utterly worthless. The old Hellenic builders had as little notion of fettering their genius by such pedantic stiffness, as their brother poets had of shaping the scheme of their tragedies by the laws of the "three unities," or bending their versification beneath the yoke of the canons of Porson. A dilettante of the last century summoning a Grecian architect before the Palladian tribunal would be a fit companion-piece for a French critic, "in the style of Louis Quatorze," sitting in judgment upon Homer. The Grecian genius certainly tended more to rule and order than the Teutonic, but the pedantry of minute accuracy was unknown to both; both were too much the free children of nature to crouch beneath the unnatural shackles of such an artificial bondage. The three orders themselves are by no means an exhaustive division; the luxuriance of Grecian imagination indulged itself in many forms of beauty which cannot be strictly classed under any of them.

I shall now endeavour to give, with as little technicality as possible, a view of the three principal phases of grace to which the consummate taste of the Greek gave birth.

The Grecian Doric, the eldest, the plainest, and yet the most

thoroughly faultless and beautiful of all, is the very masterpiece of dignified simplicity. A shaft of massive proportions, without a base, crowned with the simplest of capitals and the heaviest of abaci, supports an entablature massive like itself, and composed of a very few bold members. Yet out of these few and severe elements a composition is produced, not merely sublime, but the very perfection of vigorous and manly beauty. It thoroughly realizes the Aristotelian conception of the latter, the ἡδὺ μετὰ φοβερότητος. Nothing is weak, nothing frittered away; simple, but never rude; unadorned, but never bare; severe, and yet in the highest degree attractive, the Æschylean majesty of the Doric order is the very highest conception that even Grecian art could realize. The contemplation, even in the meanest engraving, of one of its matchless porticoes, in all the stern grace of column, capital, and cornice, is absolutely overwhelming. And this climax of pure dignity, this expression of heathendom in its noblest form, this embodied καλόν, such as the Hellenic mind alone could compass, we are gravely told was borrowed from the hideous and unmeaning monstrosities of the race who paid divine honours to the lowest vermin, and whom their gardens supplied with appropriate objects of veneration.

The Doric column varies in height from four diameters to six and a half, the measurement being taken at the base. The older examples, as the temples of Zeus and Hercules at Agrigentum, are the most massive, having the intercolumniations small, and the entablature proportionably heavy. The base is never added; the post driven into the ground had no means of suggesting such a finish; and besides this, the omission would seem altogether in the spirit of the style. The capital is equally simple, and is wonderfully effective. It is a simple *ovolo* under a plain, square, heavy abacus, a genuine tile, without moulding or ornament of any kind, which preserves most strictly the character of a distinct member rather than a mere finish to the capital, and calls to mind some of our own Romanesque abaci.

The Doric entablature is as remarkable and as distinct from those of the other orders as the columns which support it. It is, in conformity with the general character of the style, remarkably deep; and the architrave, which is quite plain, occupies a much greater proportion of the height than is the case in the other

orders. But the great characteristic is the triglyphs, originally the ends of the cross-beams appearing through the entablature. These in the pure Greek style commence at the corner of the entablature, so that there is not necessarily a triglyph over the centre of each column. The spaces between them, called *metopes*, are sometimes left plain, sometimes occupied by compositions of sculpture, such as the famous Elgin marbles, removed by a mistaken and barbarous antiquarianism from the only position in which they could possess value or interest. The cornice which crowns the whole continues in its few bold members and broad shallow *mutules* the same idea of strength and simplicity.

Such are the principal details of the pure Doric architecture. No elements can be more simple, but its simplicity is not in the least akin to rudeness; it admits the highest degree both of elegance of composition and delicacy of detail, and it moreover clearly owes its origin to the deliberate preference of a highly refined taste. It is plain that the Dorians of Peloponnesus at least, might have produced a style of much greater richness by imitating the anterior Pelasgian or Achæan structures. And farther, we must remember that the Grecian orders do not, like the styles of Gothic architecture, each represent the exclusive architecture of a single period. The invention of new forms did not exclude the use of the elder ones; and the three orders were employed simultaneously. Consequently there were many cases in which the architect who adopted the stern grandeur of the Doric order chose it in actual preference to the elegant Ionic and florid Corinthian, which were in contemporary use.

The later Doric buildings diminish somewhat of the massiveness of the earlier, without forsaking the general principles of the style or its characteristic ornaments. But all examples combine to prove that this, the purest of all forms of classical architecture, was bound by no pedantic stringency of proportion, but admitted almost as much variety as mediæval art itself. The genius of the designer was not thus cramped; it was allowed, within the limits of some general rules, well understood, though probably never expressed, to enjoy full scope of adapting the proportions of each individual building to the requirements of the particular case. Besides the differences which must ever arise

from the diversity of individual ideas of beauty, it is clear that these proportions might be further affected by the natural scenery and other objects with which the structure had to be kept in harmony, or by the requirements of the peculiar worship to which the temple was dedicated. Different proportions might well be felt to be most appropriate for the shrines of different deities; the same architectural language would hardly suit the service of the stern Hercules and the mirthful Dionysus, of the soft Aphrodite and the martial Athena. But amid all this diversity, the most marked unity of conception still prevails; the character of the Doric architecture, its grave simplicity and awful beauty, is indelibly impressed upon all. It still expresses the mind of the race among whom it originated, the calm dignity and unpretending greatness of the uncontaminated Dorian. "The Doric character," as Müller observes, "created the Doric architecture."¹

Just as the Doric architecture was the appropriate product of the Dorian mind and temper, so does the second of the great forms of Grecian architecture equally retain the impress of the people among whom it arose. The exquisite climate of Asia, the wealth and luxury of its Ionian inhabitants, (the natural result of their extended commerce,) combined to produce a character whose softness and refinement bordered on effeminacy; one which at once distinguishes them from the inhabitants of old Greece, almost as much indeed from their own kinsmen in Attica as from the tribes of Dorian extraction. This difference of character strikes us in every page of Herodotus which brings them into contact with the Greeks of the mother country, and it is plainly marked equally in their language and their architecture. The vigour, sublimity, and simplicity of the Doric is gone, and its place has to be supplied by mere delicacy and refinement. The feminine softness of Ionic architecture is as far removed from the manly boldness of the old Dorian, as the flowing liquid dialect of Herodotus, the melting softness of the open vowels, and the flexible smoothness of every syllable, is from the rugged strength, the broad vowels and rough consonants, of a Lacedæmonian inscription.

The great characteristic of the Ionic column is the capital,

¹ Dorians, ii. 270, where the character of the order is most ably treated.

which, among much diversity in the smaller ornaments, always preserves one outline strongly marked by the spiral projections at each angle called *volutes*. These are sometimes said to have been suggested by the curling down of bark at the top of a wooden column; others more probably consider them to have arisen from the suspension of a ram's horn in a similar position. In the best Grecian examples the volutes are set straight, so that only two sides of the capital are voluted; the other two, which are shorter, having only the backs of the volutes turned to them. Yet there seems reason to believe that the earliest form approached nearer to the Roman Ionic; thus in the temple of Apollo at Bassæ are columns, which while in other respects they exhibit a kind of transition from the Doric to the Ionic, have capitals with four voluted faces. "In its detail," says the article quoted in the last chapter, "this capital is so plain that it looks very much like one of the earliest essays at a voluted capital; nor is it improbable that at first the design was to make such capitals perfectly square, like the Doric abacus, and to produce four uniform voluted faces."

The neck-moulding now becomes a conspicuous and ornamented feature, and much decoration is often bestowed on the lower part of the surface of the capital. Lightness, ornament, and delicacy begin to affect the whole composition; minuter mouldings everywhere prevail, boldness being sacrificed to enrichment. The column becomes much more slender, varying from eight and a quarter to nine and a half diameters; it is now furnished with a base, its flutings are increased to twenty-four, and are separated by fillets. The sudden tapering of the Doric shaft is mitigated by the gentle *entasis* or swell, and by not commencing immediately at the base. In the entablature the same ideas prevail; the cornice is richer and more complicated, the architrave is divided into two members, and the wooden ornaments of the Doric frieze are gradually dispensed with. In this respect, as well as in the admission of the base, the Ionic manifestly recedes, as was to be expected, farther than the Doric from the original timber construction. Some Sicilian examples exhibit the triglyphed frieze above columns of this order, being as genuine instances of a transition as any thing in Romanesque or Gothic. But in the fully developed type the triglyphs are lost, and by their omission the frieze becomes a plain surface

which, unless decorated by sculpture, is unpleasingly bare. This is a clear declension from the Doric in point of art, as in that order the triglyphs prevent the plainest composition from becoming meagre. Architecture may rightly call in the aid of sculpture to add increased beauty to a structure already beautiful, but it ought never to be so dependent upon it as for any member to be actually unsatisfactory without its aid.

The third and last of the Grecian orders is the magnificent Corinthian, with its tall slender columns, its elaborate cornice, and, above all, its exquisite capitals

“With many a woven acanthus-leaf divine.”

The characteristics of this style are the direct opposite of the original Doric; the utmost lightness of proportion and the most florid gorgeousness of detail have utterly banished the sterner graces of the elder architecture: so completely had commerce, and the wealth and luxury which attended it, changed the spirit of the famous city whose name it bears, since the days when her two harbours were first added to the conquests of the invading Dorian. But it is a glorious conception; if it has departed from the original type of beauty, it has provided another of its own, which is carried out no less completely than the opposite one is by the elder style. In this respect the Corinthian is certainly far superior to the Ionic, which can hardly be said to be the development of any idea. The latter hangs midway between the two other orders without attaining the beauties of either, remaining equally distant from the simple majesty of the Doric and the elaborate luxuriance of the Corinthian.

Unhappily we have but little knowledge of Corinthian architecture in the days of its purity, as very few monuments of the independent times of Greece afford examples of the distinguishing features of this order. The great majority of Corinthian buildings are of Roman date; it was the order most frequently employed in classical Roman architecture, and thereby set the model for most of the enriched capitals of the Romanesque styles. Enough however remains to show that when the Greek artists had once learned to apply to their capitals an ornament like foliage, one so beautiful in itself, and affording such a countless variety of graceful forms, their inventive faculty was too

vivid to be tied down to any particular use of so inexhaustible a source of enrichment. The variety which, as being that which the Romans adopted in a slightly modified form, is most familiar to us as the Corinthian capital, seems incontestably to have been only one among several kinds of foliated capitals, in diversifying whose forms the taste of the Grecian architect may have luxuriated with hardly less freedom than that of his Teutonic successor.

The shape of the Corinthian capital, which is much taller than either the Doric or Ionic, is, like the foliated capitals of Egyptian and Gothic architecture, a reversed bell. The usual form, as exhibited in the two principal Greek examples, the Choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, and the temple at Jackly near Mylasa in Asia, has two rows of acanthus-leaves round the lower part of the capital, gracefully curling over from the bell. The abacus is supported by a small diagonal volute at each angle, and two still smaller ones in the centre are attached to the bell, and turn inwards so as to meet one another: these ornaments themselves rest upon a third row of leaves. But beyond this general resemblance, even those capitals which may be considered as examples of the ordinary Corinthian form, do not agree with each other. Different degrees of ornament, different dispositions and turns given to the foliage, even widely different proportions given to the capital itself, show how pliable a thing pure Grecian art was, and how totally removed from the unnatural stiffness to which its unappreciating copiers would so harshly tie it down. The earliest Corinthian remnant in Greece, the solitary and mutilated capital found in the temple at Bassæ, must have differed considerably from the usual model; and those of the Temple of the Winds at Athens are still farther removed from it. These have but one row of acanthus-leaves, and even the volutes are absent, their place being supplied by flat leaves carved upon the bell.

The flowing character of the Corinthian capital, and especially the diagonal volutes, could hardly have been brought into harmony with the hard square abacus of the earlier styles. It is therefore exchanged for one whose hollow sides appear more in unison with the form of the bell, and produce an excellent contrast by the opposite direction of the two curves. The projecting angles produced by this arrangement fuse admirably together with the

projecting volutes which support them, the actual angle itself being chamfered off, as the effect of so acute a point, in so prominent a position, would have been far from agreeable.

The entablature of this order differs but little from the Ionic, except in the increased richness given to the cornice, which now becomes one of the most important and magnificent features of the composition. In many of the more adorned Ionic buildings, especially in Asia, the dentils introduced just under the cornice, if not actually rich in themselves, are a great source of richness, by reason of the great scope they give for varieties of light and shade. The highly decorated Corinthian examples not only retain this ornament, but in a higher stage of the cornice have the soffit of the *corona*, or lower member of the projecting finish, supported by a row of small brackets or *modillions*, themselves admitting of any amount of enrichment. This, together with the increased richness given to the mouldings themselves, at once distinguishes the Corinthian cornice from either of its predecessors. The frieze appears liable to the same objection as the Ionic, that of being architecturally bare, and deriving its whole decoration from the subsidiary arts. But the increased magnificence of the cornice, giving an air of enrichment to the whole entablature, and producing a rich variety of shadow, would take off somewhat from the meagreness of even a totally naked frieze. We may perhaps add that the decorative character of the rest of the order, by making sculpture more imperative than in the plainer Ionic, would at once render its omission less frequent, and, when it did occur, would transfer the blame from the general style of architecture to the design of that particular example. And to view it with the eye of a sculptor rather than of an architect, a position which I cannot assume without great trepidation, it may be that the long continuous surface of an Ionic or Corinthian frieze affords more scope for the production of extensive and elaborate composition in sculpture than the confined space which the intervention of the triglyphs allows to the Doric metope. But in a view recognizing the subsidiary position of the other arts, there can be no hesitation as to the infinite superiority of the Doric frieze as a production of pure architecture.

The Corinthian column is by far the tallest of the three, being on an average ten diameters; yet the shaft itself is but little

longer than that of the Ionic, the difference in height being chiefly owing to the elongated form of the capital. It is therefore very light and elegant; perhaps its slenderness is almost excessive; the entablature seems well nigh insignificant at the height to which it is raised, and yet any considerable addition of depth would appear to crush the delicate supports on which it rests. With all the elegance and richness of the Corinthian, the eye still turns for unmixed satisfaction to the truer beauty and more solemn majesty of the uncorrupted Doric.

Such are the three chief classes into which the remains of pure Grecian architecture resolve themselves. Their columns and entablatures have been here considered as single features; our next business will be to regard these elements when grouped together in architectural combinations. This investigation will bring before us several fresh details and arrangements, arising out of the plan and construction of individual buildings, and not necessarily involved in a distinct examination of the three classes of columns.

CHAPTER III.

OF TEMPLES AND OTHER BUILDINGS OF GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE.

A GRECIAN temple is among the simplest of human constructions; it consists merely of a walled space of rectangular shape more or less completely surrounded by pillars. This space comprises the *cella*, the actual temple, and supposed dwelling-place, of the patron deity, which is walled off from the *pronaos* or ante-temple in front, and from the *opisthodomus* or *posticum* in the rear. According to the different ways in which the columns are disposed, temples have been divided into several classes, which, however, do not supply a completely exhaustive division. Of the principal of these a brief sketch may not be out of place.

The simplest form of a Greek temple is that called *ἐν παράσ-
τασι*, or *in antis*. This has no actual projecting portico, but merely a range of pillars in front between the terminations of

the side walls, which were finished with *antæ*. These are square pilasters, in the treatment of which the perfect taste of the Greeks, as distinguished from the Roman corrupters of their system, is conspicuously displayed. The latter treated pilasters in exactly the same way as columns, giving them the same capitals, and even the same diminution. The Greeks more truly and judiciously held that what was not a column ought not to be made to assume the appearance of one. At the same time it was clear that the *antæ* ought to be brought into harmony with the general system of the colonnade. This was effected by giving them a different capital from that of the columns, one usually composed of mere mouldings, as most adapted to the rectangular form, and by making them of the same diameter throughout. A wall, whether of wood or stone, has no occasion for diminution, nor is it a beauty; and *antæ* are but parts of a wall, harmonized indeed and adapted to the adjoining columns, but which the great law of reality forbids to assume their entire likeness. Such is the temple of Wingless Victory at Athens, a Doric structure, which has the entablature of that order continued along the side walls. This might at first sight seem a violation of reality, but it is clear that where there were no posts to support the beams, they must necessarily be thrust into the log wall at the side, and the triglyph be thus formed in precisely the same way as over a colonnade.

Hitherto the side walls have necessarily been left bare and incapable of ornament, except that derived from the source just mentioned. Grecian architecture had no means of applying strict architectural decoration to such a surface, and still less was it in accordance with Grecian taste to cover a vast external space with sculptures, after the Egyptian fashion. The bareness of these side-walls suggested the magnificent idea of carrying the colonnade all round the cella, in which case it is called a *peristyle*. To this plan most of the highest efforts of Grecian art owe their chief beauty.¹ This arrangement admits of several varieties. That called *peripteral* has a single row of columns

¹ When the Ionic order is employed in a temple of this kind, the volutes at the angles are set diagonally, so that the capital presents a perfect face to both elevations.

surrounding the whole building. But still greater magnificence was attainable by surrounding the temple with a double row of columns, according to the form known as *dipteral*, as in the immense Corinthian temple reared at Athens by the Emperor Adrian in honour of the Olympian Zeus.

The natural result of the absence of the arch was that no means were afforded for covering in such large spaces as were required for the interior of the large temples. Either the space must be contracted, or the building left open to the sky. The latter alternative is often chosen, and the cella remains roofless, or *hypæthral*; in which case it is itself furnished with an internal peristyle. This, according to Wilkins, is especially common in temples consecrated to Zeus. It might have been deemed an impiety to confine the sovereign deity within the same narrow limits as his subordinates; and the dwelling-place of the ruler of the elements, the gatherer of the clouds and wielder of the thunder, would be with peculiar propriety left open to his external empire.

The sublime remains at Poseidonia, the Latin Pæstum, present several singularities of arrangement. These are among the earliest existing monuments of Grecian art, exhibiting a form of the Doric order which is more commonly found among the remains of the Grecian colonies of Italy and Sicily than in the mother country itself. The era at which the Italian, as well as the Asiatic, Greeks attained their highest pitch of splendour, was much earlier than the days of Athenian and Spartan supremacy. At this latter period, while the inhabitants of old Greece were introducing successive improvements into architecture, the glory of the western Greeks had departed, and there was small chance of the ancient structures of the first colonists being replaced by others of later character. And we may be allowed to rejoice at this or any other circumstance which has preserved to us the glorious remains of pure Doric architecture at Poseidonia, Selinus, Acragas, and Egesta. We here behold low columns with small intercolumniations, echini and abaci of the boldest projection, entablatures and pediments of wonderful heaviness; everything exhibiting Grecian architecture in its sternest and most ponderous form.

The great hypæthral temple, commonly called that of Poseidon,

but which Wilkins,¹ solely on the ground of its being hypæthral, considers to have been dedicated to Zeus, is peripteral, being surrounded by a Doric colonnade of amazing massiveness. Within the cella is a range of columns, whose entablature supports a second smaller range, an arrangement which is unique, as far as I am aware, among existing Grecian remains, though it is recorded to have been occasionally employed in other instances. But the effect is so bad, and so contrary to every principle of the style, that it is not surprising that the arrangement never came into general use. The pseudo-dipteral temple, which has been called a *basilica*, and which Wilkins considers to be posterior to the Roman conquest, has its cella divided down the middle by a single row of columns, which apparently supported the roof. The resemblance of this former arrangement to the nave, aisles, and clerestory of a Christian church has been often remarked; the latter finds its counterpart in such churches as Caythorpe and Godshill, which have a single arcade down the centre of the nave.

The desire of relieving the blank surfaces occurring in the simpler forms of temples led to the use of engaged columns. These must have been employed at a very early period of Grecian architecture, as they occur in the temple of Zeus at Acragas. But the most familiar instance of their use is in the temple of Athena Polias at Athens, where a range of Ionic columns are embedded in the wall, and windows, a rare feature in the pure Grecian style, peep out between them. These latter consist simply of a lintel supported by jambs inclining inwards after the Egyptian fashion. It is impossible to defend such an abuse of the colonnade; it only proves that Grecian taste itself was not always perfect, and that even an Athenian architect might produce a building absolutely unsightly, if he once deviated from the one unsurpassable form of beauty to which the spirit of his style confined him. It must be confessed that this temple is as great an absurdity as anything that Vitruvius or Palladio could have produced. Engaged columns are in any case unreal; with windows between them they are ugly. Still the columns do support a continuous entablature; the weak and broken line of the

¹ *Magna Græcia*, p. 60.

Roman architrave was as yet unknown to the fabrics of immortal Greece.

There are also other instances, even during the best days of Grecian art, of forms which can only be looked upon as mere vagaries. Among these I cannot but reckon the employment of caryatides in the place of columns, as in the front of the temple of Pandrosus. The use of sculpture in architecture is certainly to embellish the architectural design, not to supersede it; consequently the substitution of a piece of sculpture for an architectural member must be at once condemned as contrary to the due relations between the two arts. It is a palpable confusion; and transforms what ought to be an architectural composition into a mere exhibition of statues. Again, human figures supporting an entablature have anything but a pleasing appearance; there is an apparent disproportion between the support and the weight supported, which latter seems but too likely to crush the delicate forms beneath it. In statues of large size,¹ a certain degree of deception is intended; they are direct representations of the human figure, and are not adapted to situations in which a real human figure would be impossible or shocking. Statues may be represented in human positions, or discharging human actions, standing, sitting, fighting, haranguing; but human forms acting as architectural members, and supporting an entablature, appear incongruous, because we cannot imagine the realities in any position at all approach-

¹ I say *large* statues, because in them alone does this deception exist. The small figures which in Gothic buildings are often placed under great weights, are not liable to the same objection as to the caryatides. The small size, and their frequently representing only a part of the figure, at once reduce them to mere decorations; they are not works of direct mimetic sculpture, but are rather mere carvings, analogous to the representations of foliage which often take their place. No one looks on them as real figures, nor applies the same rules to them as to

full-sized statues. And farther, in the decorative construction of Gothic architecture, there is no weight at all to be sustained. The superstructure is not (in idea,) laid upon, or supported by, the lower part, as is the Grecian entablature, but grows out of it; and consequently much greater lightness may be given to the sustaining portion. Actual figures instead of shafts are sometimes found in Romanesque portals, but are never satisfactory; and the same may be said of shafts resting on the bodies of animals.

ing to it. We know that were the figures what they profess to be, their situation would be painful and impossible. It might be a question whether the capitals upon the heads of the images increase or diminish the feeling of incongruity; on the one hand, the sense of oppression is not so great as if the ponderous entablature had rested immediately upon them; on the other, human statues finished with capitals are a still more palpable confusion of sculpture and architecture, and when reflected on, almost approach the ludicrous. Mr. Dodwell truly remarks, that "the female figure cannot well be placed in a more ungraceful attitude than that in which it is seen under the pressure of a ponderous mass of entablature. The drapery of the caryatides towards the base, seems to have been made with a certain degree of straightness and formality, *in order to approach to the appearance of fluted columns*. This peculiarity is too marked to be accidental."¹ It may be remarked that neither the capitals nor the entablature of this portico belong to any of the three orders.

A similar misapplication of statuary occurred in several ancient buildings, but they seem generally to have formed a second story, being placed over the genuine colonnade in the same manner as the upper order already described at Pæstum. This was the case in the temple of Zeus at Acragas, and in the Persian portico at Sparta.² The like is the case in the building called the Incantada at Thessalonica, but here the figures, which are of different sexes, and are most assuredly neither Caryatides nor Persians, but represent several mythological personages, are not the supports of the upper entablature, which rests on dwarf pilasters to which the statues are attached. This more closely

¹ Tour in Greece, i. 355.

² Female figures in this position were called Caryatides; the male were known as Persians, Telamones, and Atlantes.

Mr. Dodwell, arguing against Spor, who had conjectured these figures to be the identical Graces which Socrates is said to have executed, reasons very truly, "that

though they are extremely beautiful, and admirably sculptured, yet they have not the smallest characteristic of the Graces, but figuratively represent the weight of slavery and the severe forms of Caryan females,* rather than the light freedom and easy elegance of the daughters of Venus."

* According to the well-known tale in Vitruvius, lib. i. cap. i.

resembles the mode in which such statues are employed in Egyptian architecture, and, as this building certainly belongs to no period of pure Grecian architecture, they might even have been an imitation of that style. The Greeks of modern times, anxious probably to save the credit of the architect from the stigma of having placed them in so extraordinary a position, have devised a legend, which may be seen at length in Stuart's Athens, according to which they are in truth no ordinary statues, but a King and Queen of Thrace, with their attendants, converted into stone by magic arts; hence the name of *Incantada*.

Several smaller Grecian buildings, not of the temple form, remain, which are highly interesting, as showing how completely Grecian architecture was bound to that form, and how impossible it is to preserve its genuine characteristics when anything further is attempted. Besides this, they demonstrate, even more clearly than larger structures,¹ the complete freedom of Grecian genius from the degrading fetters with which Italian pedantry would fain enslave it. They are pretty, but odd, and decidedly not Grecian in idea; the general idea of each could have been far better carried out in Romanesque or Gothic. Such are the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, (commonly called the lantern of Demosthenes,) the choragic monument of Thrasyllus, and the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, or temple of the Eight Winds. The first of the three, erected in commemoration of a theatrical victory in the year B.C. 330, when the glory of Greece was beginning to decline, is a small circular structure with six engaged columns supporting an entablature, on which is appropriately carved the adventure which forms the subject of the Homeric hymn to Dionysus. The columns are fluted, and have Corinthian capitals, but differing very widely from the Roman type. The cornice is finished by a battlement not unlike that used in Arabian architecture; and the roof is formed of an apparent cupola, of small elevation, and wrought out of a single stone. The whole is crowned with a large finial of foliage, like what the

¹ "The Greeks seem never to have bound themselves by any very settled rules in the erection of their larger buildings, beyond what were necessary to preserve the integ-

riety of the several orders, and in small works they sometimes throw off even these restrictions."—Glossary, *Art. Grecian Architecture*.

acanthus-leaf of the capital might be supposed to grow into, were there no abacus to keep it down. Graceful as it is, the engaged columns, the circular form, the domical top, are all deviations from the pure Grecian principle; the horizontal line has not, and from the plan of the building cannot have, any marked predominance.

Twelve years later than the monument of Lysicrates, that of Thrasyllus was erected. The front of this building consists of three flat pilasters, two being antæ, and a smaller one in the centre occupying the place of a column. These support an entablature, with a character of its own, but more nearly approaching the Doric than any other; the characteristic triglyph is however omitted, its place being supplied by wreaths. There is no pediment, but the structure is, or rather was, crowned by a seated figure, which has raised some controversy as to the identity, and even the sex, of the person represented. Dodwell appears to incline to the opinion that it represents Dionysus, which from its connection with the theatre would appear highly probable; others say Niobe, and Stuart argues that it is Demus, not, as its beauty might lead one to suppose, the son of Pyrilampes, an opinion which he strenuously opposes, but he of the bean and the oyster-shell, the

*ἀγροίκος ὀργήν, κυαμότρωξ, ἀκράχολος,
Δῆμος Πυκνίτης.*

The octagonal tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes is otherwise known as the temple of the Eight Winds, but it was clearly no temple, but designed to serve several astronomical¹ purposes. Its form is as little adapted as the circle to convey pure Grecian ideas, and would be far more appropriately adorned with Gothic details, just as the monument of Lysicrates would be with Romanesque. Indeed the cornice adorned with heads at intervals is thoroughly Gothic in its general effect. This building has not even the small pretence to a peristyle which the monument of Lysicrates retains in its engaged columns, but boldly dispenses with it altogether. The result is a design, certainly of great beauty, but in which no one principle of Grecian architecture is predominant. The chief ornaments are emblematical figures of the winds sculptured on a sort of band or frieze sur-

¹ See Dict. of Ant., art. Horologium.

rounding the building, each figure being placed on the face of the tower opposite the wind which it represents. There is no *portico*, but two of the faces have doors, covered with genuine *porches*, each consisting of two columns supporting an entablature and pediment; they are fluted and without bases; the capitals¹ are formed of foliage, but can hardly be called examples of the Corinthian order.

Other Grecian remains, however interesting as matters of archæology, throw but little light upon architecture. The magnificent propylæa of Athens are simply a Doric portico, differing in no essential respect from those forming the fronts of temples. The vast theatres, whether constructed or hewn in the rock, teach us no new lesson, and can hardly be called works of architecture in the strictest sense. Still less can we look for domestic architecture among the Greeks; it was an art not likely to be cultivated among a people who looked with envy on any individual display of magnificence as betokening designs against their liberties. In short Grecian architecture produced one form of the most perfect beauty, but only one; and when it attempted any other, it at once failed, as no other form could express its animating principles. When it deserted the simple form of the portico, it invariably failed to produce anything else in harmony with its grand idea, and even in carrying out that one glorious conception, the art of Greece itself occasionally exemplified the liability of all things human to error. But this was only when it strayed more or less from the one pattern; within those bounds, the sternest Doric and the most florid Corinthian are but different forms of perfect beauty; all is simple, graceful, harmonious, faultless as the strains of the Attic Bee; the pure and glorious heritage of the adorers of stainless and unruffled loveliness.

¹ See above, p. 112.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL REVIEW OF GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE.

IN contemplating the remains of Grecian skill, almost the first feeling raised in the mind is one of wonder at the excessive simplicity which pervades the whole. It seems strange that elements so few, and admitting of so little diversity, should be capable of producing those exquisite forms of beauty which still remain the admiration of the world. True it is that many varieties have been observed, and all regularly defined and named; but this very fact only shows the smallness of their number as compared with those to be seen in other styles. Who could attempt to draw up a nomenclature expressing the different proportions of Romanesque and Gothic buildings, in the same way that every variety in a Grecian intercolumniation is accurately measured, and has its own appropriate designation? How uniform are the parts of a Grecian temple, its columns, entablature, and pediment; one unbroken, unvaried elevation, the same in the heaviest Doric, and the most soaring Corinthian; east, west, north, and south, all present the same system, the only alternative being an unbroken wall. How utterly different is all this from the ever-shifting gables, and spires, and chapels of a Gothic Church; now spreading itself along the earth in the vast unbroken length of St. Alban's, now soaring in the one compact mass of St. Maclou or our own St. Cross.

Yet these two features of simplicity of construction and uniformity of design are not identical. One might conceive a plan as complex as that of Cologne having been the unvaried type of a Christian Church, or the simple construction of the entablature having been applied to buildings of every variety of form. The two are however closely allied, they are the application of one principle to different aspects of a building; the same general notion of simplicity tends at once to the employment of but few designs, and causes those designs to be composed of only a few parts.

This simplicity is the grand characteristic of Grecian architecture, and seems peculiar to it. Even in Egypt and India,

where everything had stiffened in the mould of caste, we find greater variety than on the free soil of Greece; the forms are more diversified, and the designs more complicated. To bring into the comparison those countless forms both of outline and detail which Gothic art has produced were altogether needless. And this simplicity and uniformity is the more remarkable when we consider the diversity which lurks below; proportions are not unvaried, nor ornaments confined to one design. Both the simplicity and the diversity of the Grecian architecture have a common source; they are both the pure work of nature; men striving to carry out a single conception of beauty, unfettered by stringent rules, would necessarily produce buildings of one general character, and yet exhibiting an unlimited amount of diversity in details.

And it is clear that the Grecian architects did set before them such a single notion of beauty in a sense in which those of our own race did not; or perhaps we may rather say that the single notion of Gothic beauty did not hinder the existence of countless diversities of proportion and outline. So that the building was vertical, its other features might be settled according to taste, caprice, convenience, or ecclesiastical order. And as verticality itself may admit of various ways of expression, much more is it consistent with almost any variety of ground-plan, outline, and proportion. Not so the predominant horizontal line, which can only be carried out by means of a long unbroken surface, and consequently at once reduces the building in which it prevails to the one unvarying form of the simple parallelogram. Any but this must in some point or other exhibit a deviation from pure horizontality. And it should be remembered that though Grecian is by no means the only style constructed on the mechanical principle of the entablature, it is the only one which thoroughly carries out the æsthetical notion suggested by that principle. Egyptian architecture can hardly be said to suggest the idea of horizontality, or indeed any idea at all; it would come nearer to the mere rest and solidity of the Romanesque than to the horizontal extension of the Grecian.

There is then one mechanical system and one type of outline which pervade the whole style, and both of these the most simple that can be imagined. Posts supporting beams are arranged in the

form of a parallelogram. No mechanical construction can be simpler than that of the entablature ; none requires so few component parts, or so small an exertion of any but the merest physical powers of mechanism. The arch, on the other hand, is something complex ; its very construction requires many component parts, and calls forth a much greater exertion of mechanical skill ; its curved form too at once breaks in upon the uniform system of straight lines and angles which is the essence of a horizontal style. Hence a greater variety of outline, a freer combination of parts, and generally a more complicated system both of construction and composition, is in harmony with an arched style. And this alone would be sufficient proof that the arch and the entablature can never form parts of one harmonious system. The variety and boldness of the one will ever remain at variance with the uniformity and simplicity of the other.

But though this simplicity of design and construction renders Grecian architecture one of small mechanical importance, it does not in the least degree detract from its beauty. It precludes, indeed, the beauty of diversity, that of outline and grouping ; the bold combinations of a Rhenish cathedral, its multiplicity of parts, its ever-shifting clusters of steeples and octagons, are denied to the plain Grecian temple ; but the latter has its own beauties which are in return denied to the more complicated structure. Simplicity has a charm of its own, as well as diversity ; the uncomposed whole, as well as the combination of parts. For a Grecian building has, strictly speaking, no parts ; it is not composed ; it is a simple mathematical figure, the simplest that could well be introduced as a form of ground-plan or elevation. Pleasure may arise from the contemplation of objects which our faculties grasp at once, as well as of those which require a longer and more difficult process before they are fully mastered. And mere beauty, as distinguished from the notions of grandeur, richness, and what may be called the *awful* in art and composition, is perhaps more closely allied to simplicity than to diversity. It is more manifestly earthly and human, it comes more within our own grasp, not soaring above us, and overwhelming us with a superhuman majesty. Grecian art is definite, local, personal, lovely ; Gothic glories in being infinite, unfettered, spiritual, majestic ; it is the expression of something not to be com-

prehended within the ordinary limits of humanity, or indeed of aught of the material world.

And this simplicity, this definiteness, this tendency to clothe everything with a garb of sensible humanity, is most thoroughly in unison with the Grecian character. In all the best Greek writers we observe the same simplicity, the almost childlike outpouring of nature, which distinguishes their architecture. There is no fear of speaking of common things, or calling them by common names. There is not the same conventionality of phrase, the same artificial dignity and elaborateness of expression, which attach more or less to almost every modern composition. Sentences are less artificially constructed; the laboured periods of Thucydides, which attempt something more resembling modern diction, commonly break down, and after all, they not unfrequently display the same simplicity of expression as the rest. The Greek tongue is indeed capable of expressing the very subtlest distinctions of thought, it is in truth the very language of metaphysics; still the Greek mind was not, in the same degree as the Oriental, naturally speculative or abstract. Even the very abstract ideas of philosophy are clothed in concrete language; and the same turn of mind, combined with their ignorance of any foreign language, palpably tends to that confusion of words and things, that investing the former with a sort of essential reality, which perpetually occurs in their philosophy, and reduces many of their most abstruse arguments to the merest quibbling.

But the true Greek was no abstract philosopher; the son of the old uncorrupted Hellas stood not, like the Oriental sage, upon a lofty watch-tower far above his fellow-men and their pursuits, to trace out the shadowy forms of contending principles, and muse upon the struggle between good and evil, light and darkness. His mind could not rest upon the dim imaginations of impersonal powers; it was utterly incapable of all conception of the spiritual and the infinite. His world was man; it was among the scenes of common humanity that he found his truest element; every portion of our nature came forth into full play; the battle-field witnessed his valour; the public assembly drew forth his eloquence; social life called out the sympathies of pure and enduring friendship; the song, the feast, the dance, every allurement of the senses, every gratifica-

tion of refined taste, were alike welcome to his heart. Every human emotion swayed him in its fullest power; he fought for his friends, his party, his country; not for any abstract rights of man, but for the land on which he trod, the hearth where he dwelt, the shrine where he worshipped, the agora where he himself personally witnessed and enjoyed the glorious heritage of freedom. He went forth to battle, not at another's bidding in a quarrel for which he recked not, but for all that came home to his own heart, all that bore upon his personal existence,

*παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρίων ἔδῃ,
θῆκας τε προγόνων.*

He looked indeed beyond the grave, but to a world of men,—men indeed pure, and good, and noble, but men with human passions, and capable of human enjoyments. He looked not to an existence of shadowy contemplation, to clearer views of what on earth was dark and mysterious, he dreamed not of merging his personal humanity by absorption into the bosom of an abstract Infinite; his very paradise was local and human. His thoughts of another world turned to the calm splendours of the West, where the setting sun seemed to descend to light another and a purer earth. The giant stream of ocean severed the world of care and toil from the bright realm of rest and happiness; on its other shore was the brighter land where the sun was never clouded, where the earth needed not the toil of man to yield fairer and purer fruits than the eastern side of the mighty river might behold. But they were still men who dwelt there; it was to dwell among those of whom his poets had sung, who had here been just and valiant, with them to lead a toilless and a careless life, with the festive crown for ever on his brow, that the Greek dreamed of as his highest and holiest aspiration. And yet more; to his imagination all nature was full of life; sky, sea, and earth, woods, mountains, rivers swarmed with beings higher than man, but still beings of human form, and swayed by human passions. He bowed indeed in adoration to one mightier and more enduring than himself, but still to one like himself personal and human. The deity to whom he prayed was the ancestor from whose blood he was descended;

he was one who dwelt in his temple and animated his statue ; he could feel love and hatred, gratitude and resentment ; offering and incense would propitiate his wrath ; unbroken prosperity and too aspiring haughtiness brought down his envy rather than his justice. Such a godhead might be circumscribed within bounds, might take up his abode within the four walls of a Grecian temple, dwelling in the seclusion of an Oriental king, unseen indeed, but locally present ; bounded, like an earthly ruler, by the restraints and limits of material and human being.

For such a worship no shrine could be so fitting as those which Grecian art reared to these its human idols. A structure whose extent was measured, and could be grasped at a single glance, well suited a deity who was subject to the accidents of humanity, and dwelt in his temple as a mortal prince within his palace. There was no need of aspiring forms to raise the soul of the worshipper above the earth on which he trod, while that very earth was one of his most venerated deities ; and while the rest had their beloved spots upon its bosom, which they delighted to haunt in mortal guise. He needed no spire to point out a heavenward path, while his very heaven was on earth, far away indeed, and in lovelier regions, but still within the bounds of this lower world ; and where the existence that he hoped for was but a brighter form of that which he led in his own city. It was but a removal from the Greece of the present to the Greece of the old heroic time, a translation from the busy scenes of the Pnyx and the Peiræus to the plains of Troy whitened by the tents of the Achæans, and to the festive banquet of the King of Men,

*ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλλεύς,
Τυδείδην τέ φασι Διομήδεα.*

Contrast this mere human beauty, this local, definite, circumscribed temple, with the embodying of the infinite—that *ἄπειρον* which the Greek deemed a form of evil,—in the interior of a Christian minster, especially in its noblest form, the soaring and heaven-pointing Gothic. Place yourself where you will, the view is boundless, nothing occurs to force a limit on the eye in any direction ; interminable rows of columns branch away to every point, arch is seen through arch, every feature suggests

something beyond itself. Stand a little west of the roodscreen ; you see into the transepts, but you see not their full length ; the eye is caught by their eastern arcades, suggestive of the aisles and chapels beyond. If the roodscreen is pierced, you see the choir stretching before you, the slim arches beyond the high altar giving a faint glimpse of chapels yet far away, or the mighty reredos proclaiming, while concealing, their existence ; or if all this is completely hidden, you at least see the roof-line stretching on till it is lost in the distant perspective. Above, the roof must bound your vision ; but here the whole temple seems rising heavenwards ; and beneath the lantern a glimpse is given of a still loftier height, a glimpse only of a height which might be absolutely boundless. Even the apertures of the triforium, and the narrow passages of the highest range, give a hint of something yet further, of interminable mazes leading you know not whither. May we not deem such a pile, vast¹ and boundless, whose whole extent no human eye can comprehend at a single glance, to be the chosen, the living and speaking shrine of the God of the Christian, Who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, the Incomprehensible, the Infinite ?

Grecian architecture then is horizontal, definite, rectangular, with one unvaried construction, and one unvaried outline. From these characteristics we may now proceed to make some more particular inferences.

First then, it is, when used in its purity, utterly precluded from attaining any comparative height. A Grecian temple may be actually of colossal loftiness, but, unless it totally gives up its proper character, elevation cannot be its predominant dimension. A building in which it prevailed would lose the horizontal ascendancy, and yet not substitute any other, as the whole system is opposed to the vertical line.

Secondly, Grecian architecture does not allow of any division of the height into stages ; as the single order does not admit of elevation, still less can it be gained by raising another order upon it. To pile portico upon portico is absurd, if it were only

¹ Vast and boundless by its form and conception, even when actually of no great dimensions. No church conveys more thoroughly the notion

of infinity than the comparatively small cathedral at Oxford : the north view out of the choir is literally boundless.

because the lower order presents a dilemma; if the pediment be omitted, it is imperfect; if inserted, it is at once unreal and ugly,—nothing being more ludicrous than a sham pediment against a wall. To rest a solid story upon an open portico is still worse; besides the objection just made,¹ it presents an appearance of insecurity and heaviness, and moreover destroys the predominance which properly belongs to the colonnade. Besides, all division into stages, though not necessarily involving the vertical principle, must give the idea of comparative height, and thus destroy the ascendancy of the entablature.

Thirdly, Grecian architecture has no means of enriching a large blank surface. It does not admit the repetition of the constructive features as sources of decoration. They cannot be repeated of the full size, because this is unreal; for in this case they appear to be constructive when they are not, and the impression conveyed is that of a portico walled up between the pillars. To repeat them of smaller size, to load the surface with little decorative colonnades, after the manner of the Romanesque and Gothic arcades, would not be unreal, (for no one can suppose them to be constructive,) but such a course would be altogether repugnant to Grecian principles. It would make a division into stages, annul the supremacy of the entablature, and bring in the former dilemma about the pediment.

Fourthly, the Grecian system, by requiring a long unbroken extent for the development of its horizontal idea, cannot admit of outlines broken up by projections, or even of circular or polygonal forms.

Fifthly, the whole end and aim of Grecian architecture is to produce an exterior; in no internal view can its long rows of stately columns with their grand pediments come out in their full beauty, nor can the full ascendancy be given to the horizontal line.

Sixthly, the want of the arch at once precludes any boldness of mechanical construction; distant spaces cannot be connected,

¹ Surely nothing can be more hideous than those churches whose colonnades support a continuous entablature with a clerestory above. But both the debased Romans and

their modern imitators have for the most part had at least taste enough to avoid this. See however below, p. 156.

nor any system of roofing allowing a large internal area be adopted.

Not that these are in the slightest degree objections to the style as used *by the Greeks themselves*. They did what every good architect does, and more than which none can do, namely, to erect a building that will best answer his ends, and to adorn it in a beautiful and consistent manner. The impossibility of attaining comparative height was no difficulty where it was neither morally nor æsthetically needed; where there was no occasion to erect buildings in stages, the architecture which could not effect it was not felt to be imperfect. There was no occasion to embellish blank walls, when it was at once more stately and more convenient to continue the colonnade all round the temple. To a people, a great portion of whose life was spent in the open air, and in whose worship the congregation was external to the actual temple, the interior was of comparatively little importance. No extensive area called for the vault; it was sufficient to provide a majestic front to command admiration from afar, and a pillared space where the worshippers might be at once sheltered from the sun and accessible to the breeze. If then the Grecian style of architecture answered the ends of those by whom it was employed, it cannot be blamed for not answering certain other ends which never occurred to them. I grant that in domestic architecture their style must have failed;¹ but important political reasons forbad any extensive application of it to such uses; it was judged inconsistent with republican equality for the dwelling of a private citizen to assume to itself that splendour which was held to be fitting only for the temples of the Gods, and the public edifices of the state. Grecian architecture answered the ends of Grecian worship, and expressed the mind of the people and their religion in forms of the most perfect loveliness. To deny this can only be the result of the merest prejudice, and can do nothing to further the cause of Gothic architecture among ourselves. That glorious style has sufficient merit of its own, without decrying other styles whose beauty we must

¹ It is clear (See Dict. of Ant. art. Columna and Domus) that the Greeks did employ columns in the interior of houses; but it is difficult to understand how the true spirit of the style could have been carried out.

willingly admit, while we pronounce them utterly inappropriate to our country, our race, and our religion.

For the reasons just given distinctly prove that the Grecian architecture is one which cannot be adopted in any modern building. National feeling, if we had any left, any real love for the true glories of Teutonic England, would repudiate it even for secular buildings; united national and religious feeling pronounce it unfit for a Christian temple. A pure Grecian building cannot be made to serve any purpose, ecclesiastical or civil, in our country; it would be a mere toy, a model for study, a mere gratification of the eye. It cannot be adapted to any of our uses without utterly losing its own nature and beauty. In our northern land our main design is not to walk about under colonnades; whether we assemble for prayer, for legislation, or for merchandize, we need an interior; we want walls and roofs, doors and windows. These we must have, and consequently all that any Grecian structure can do is but to surround them with a peristyle, which serves little or no purpose, and which is after all a mere mask; whereas the real Grecian portico was not only a source of external splendour, but the most important feature of the fabric.

BOOK II.
ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARCH.

PART I.

OF THE ROUND ARCH, OR ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CLASSICAL OR TRANSITIONAL ROMAN.

WE have now arrived at the era when the great invention of the arch began gradually to assert its claims to predominance in architectural designs. Hitherto we have found its existence barely proved, we have seen it occasionally employed where constructive necessity required it, but never made a prominent feature, far less introduced into the decoration of the building. In Roman architecture we find the arch the predominant mechanical feature, but it is still merely mechanical, and does not assert its full rights till the time when, as we are commonly told, the art began to decline, but when in truth it began for the first time to display a simple and consistent construction according to the principles involved in the employment of the arch.

The origin of Roman architecture is involved in inextricable obscurity; the chief difficulty being whether anything like a native Italian style existed at a time when Grecian influences were unknown. A strictly Roman style there hardly could have been, as direct Grecian colonization in the West had commenced long before Rome attained to any importance among the states of Italy. And besides this, how much is to be attributed to the common element in the population of Greece and Italy, and is consequently to be considered, if not Grecian, at least not distinctively Italian, would be a very difficult question to unravel.

The mysterious Etruscan race have also had their share in adding confusion to confusion; there is great probability that Rome borrowed much from Etruria, but till we know for certain who the Etruscans were, and whence they came, this fact can add but little to our stock of real information.

The probability would certainly seem to be in favour of Niebuhr's opinion that much that we call Etruscan does not belong to the real Rasena, the conquering and dominant race in Etruria, but to their subjects the Tyrrhenians. The acceptance of this theory will perhaps clear up several points in the history of Roman architecture. These Tyrrhenians were a branch of the great Pelasgian race, kinsmen both of the Latins and of the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus; and we have seen the same forms of architecture prevail amongst the whole race, especially the numberless attempts at the form and construction of the arch. Nothing can be more probable than that these attempts were at last successful, and that the arch was discovered at some very early period among the Pelasgians of Italy. Etruria may well have been the locality of the invention, and yet its authors have been, not the Rasena, but their Tyrrhenian subjects, whether before or after the time that they passed into subjection. If this be correct, the arch belongs to the Pelasgian element which Greece and Italy had in common, and a genuine Roman building must be looked upon as owning a kindred origin with the remains of Tiryns and Mycenæ.¹

But whether anything that can be called a style, any consistent system of construction and decoration, had been formed anterior to the introduction of Grecian architecture, is another question, and which is probably to be answered in the negative. That such was the case in Greece is clear; we know that the ante-Dorian inhabitants had an ornamental style, and one that admitted of the column, though how harmonized with the arch does not appear. But we have seen that this style had no influence whatever on the subsequent Doric architecture, which was substituted for it as a whole, and in no degree intermingled with it. But the native Italian style had a most powerful influence upon the later Roman, which retained nothing less than its whole system of construction. Had it possessed any system of decoration, it is probable that some traces

¹ See above, p. 42.

of it would have survived, at least in application to its great constructive feature. The only architectural member which has the remotest claim to be considered as of native growth in Italy, is the Tuscan column; but of this order we have no ancient example, and can say nothing as to its origin. It may be an un-borrowed Italian feature, analogous to the Pelasgian columns at Mycenæ, or it may be merely an uncouth perversion of the matchless Doric.¹

We may then safely conclude that an original arched style did exist in Italy at a period earlier than the general direct imitation of Greek art, but that it was a style without ornament, such as we see in those Roman structures which are designed simply for use; a style pure and vigorous, and of the greatest mechanical boldness, but which had not wrought out for itself any system of ornamental details. Grecian details, belonging to a totally different system, were subsequently introduced as an ornamental mask; an unnatural bondage which had to be shaken off, and which at last was shaken off, and a legitimate system of ornament devised. The period of classical Roman architecture is therefore one of retrogression, it is an unnatural state; consistent round-arched architecture took a leap from Etruria to Germany and England. Brixworth church, strange as it may seem, better represents the architecture of primeval Italy than the structures of the Cæsars; and the palace of the Conqueror was a true development from those of King Latinus and Lars Porsena.

Such an architecture as this, however void of decoration, is grand in the highest degree. Few human productions are nobler than a genuine Roman building altogether free from Grecian ideas, such, for instance, as the Pont du Gard in Languedoc, or the Aqueduct of Segovia. We here see only the square pier and the round arch standing forth, tier upon tier, in all their native boldness and purity. And the bold, unbroken sweep of the round arch is in itself exceedingly striking, and can better dispense with decoration than any other architectural form. Both Grecian and Gothic buildings require a certain degree of ornament, the mere unadorned mechanical construction will not suffice; but a Roman arch is perfectly satisfactory,

¹ "The Tuscan . . . was evidently nothing more than a modification of the Roman Doric, stripped of its ornaments."—Dict. of Ant. art. Columna.

though not a particle of moulding or other enrichment is bestowed upon itself or its pier.

This genuine Roman architecture is essentially and pre-eminently the architecture of strength, the material expression of the steady, undaunted, unyielding will. But it is the architecture of strength in another and a higher sense than that in which we have asserted the like of Indian and Egyptian monuments. These tell of mere physical power, of the mere submission of slaves, but they convey no great moral lesson ; they are the mere piling together of vast masses at the caprice of a royal or sacerdotal despot ; they do not express mind. The difference between them and the Roman architecture is at once manifest in the circumstance that, while they are overloaded with a superabundance of what would fain be ornament, the Roman builder rejects all ornament whatsoever with a contempt worthy of his own Curius or Fabricius. No style better speaks the mind of its authors ; the whole course of Roman history is but an expression of the one idea of the indomitable will. What our own land has occasionally seen in an individual William or Edward was the animating spirit of the great republic during the whole period of its existence. The destiny of Rome was one simple but magnificent, the effectual conquest of the world. It was not to overrun it in one sudden assault, like a Jenghiz or a Tamerlane, an individual conqueror, whose conquests more or less died with him, but to subject all nations to the gradual advance of a single one destined to universal empire. From the first moment that Rome appears on the political stage, this one great purpose is manifest in all her actions. Never was any greatness so truly national ; Rome has no Alexander, or Charlemagne, or Napoleon ; with a longer list of great men than any other nation, their personal being is lost in that of the state : Camillus, and Curius, and Scipio had no end or aim of their own ; they existed but to further in their generation the one great purpose of Rome, and to transmit the like calling to their successors. The greatness of other lands centres round some one period, often round some one man ; Carthage has her Hannibal, Athens her Pericles, Thebes her Epaminondas, on whom her hopes rested, and in whose fall she perished. But Rome is an animating genius, the state has a personal existence ; her bravest sons might fall, but herself, the eternal city, is unmoved ;

others arise to take their part in the work of seven centuries, the subjugation of a world. Not even Sparta herself could return thanks to a vanquished general for not having despaired of the republic. Little, in the days of her true dignity, did she reckon of mere art and beauty; her later elegance and refinement were a borrowed gift which she knew not how to exercise; her greatness was her own. The familiar words of her own poet cannot be too often borne in mind:—

*"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt caussas melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."*

Truly did such an architecture befit such a nation; it is in the physical world what Rome herself was in the moral, the display of that unyielding energy which overcomes every obstacle by the mere force of the indomitable will. The works of Roman architecture were, in point of mere greatness, of vastness of size, of difficulties overcome, of mechanical and constructive daring, incomparably beyond all that had preceded them. Compare the Grecian pillars, cowering close together to support the dead weight of the entablature, with the massive piers of a Roman building, boldly throwing out arch, and vault, and cupola, to distances which a Greek would as soon have thought of connecting by a supported mass as of bridging the stream of ocean.

But after all, with the exception of a few structures in which utility was more aimed at than beauty, this true Roman architecture has only an ideal existence. Its remains are just numerous enough to make us wish to know what it would have been, if the mad desire of imitating Greece had never taken possession of the Roman mind, and extinguished alike national poetry and national architecture. To have rejected the immense mechanical advantages of their own style for the mere æsthetical superiority of the Greek, would have been simple folly; the attempt to combine the two gave rise to a style, not without its merits, but absurd and inconsistent to the last degree.

Hence, whatever may have been the true origin of this futile attempt to combine the arch and the entablature, the Roman

style is practically a transitional one; paradoxical as it may seem, the architecture of the palmy and splendid days of the imperial city is but a transition to one which arose in the days of its decline, and came to its perfect development among nations of whom the Cæsars had scarcely heard. It is a transition from Grecian to Romanesque, from the consistent system of the entablature to the consistent system of the round arch. It strives to engraft its own principle of construction upon that of Greece, the latter being consequently reduced to a mere source of adventitious decoration. The decorative, merely decorative, entablature is thrust prominently forward, and the arch, the real construction, is obscured, and thrust, as far as was possible, out of sight.

No architecture can, as mere art, be more thoroughly worthless than such a hopeless confusion as the Roman style henceforth presented. It is simply the exceeding excellence of the two elements—the perfect loveliness of Grecian detail, corrupted as it was by its Roman imitators, and the magnificent boldness of the genuine Roman construction—that saves any of its productions from absolute hideousness. It will therefore be unnecessary to treat of it at the same length either as the pure styles, or as those transitions, which are not a commixture of two ready-made systems, but a real development of one style out of another. I shall only briefly allude to some of the strange¹ and often ludicrous ways in which the two principles are sought to be combined.

The Grecian column, except in such rare instances as the temple of Athena Polias, had always been a real support. It was now converted into a mere decoration. The arch springs from its own massive piers, while a column, perhaps a pair of columns, is set up on each side, supporting a merely decorative entablature, and sometimes even a pediment. And even these columns were not allowed to stand simply on the ground, but are cut off from it by a thing called a pedestal, the use or beauty of which it is not easy to understand. These pillars were sometimes free, sometimes engaged, in other cases they sank into mere pilasters. Sometimes, by way of diversity, as in a structure at Pompeii, a kind of pilaster adorns the pier of the arch below the

¹ They will be found more fully Mr. Hope's Historical Essay on drawn out in the eighth chapter of Architecture.

impost, while another supported on its capital, bears the entablature. But the strangest device of all was to destroy the continuity of the entablature, the bold horizontal line of Grecian architecture, and break it up into a number of ins and outs most foreign to its spirit. The entablature becomes a mere string against the wall, unsupported by the columns which stand out in front, and over each of which a small portion of entablature projects, to lengthen the column at the upper end, as the pedestal had already done at the other. Then come pediments stuck here and there without meaning, pediments too broken and curved, and jagged into divers fantastic forms. And combined with all this is the most utter confusion and corruption of the minuter details.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the striking boldness and simplicity of their own construction, the Romans did not, even in supplanting it by other forms, appreciate in the least the purity and simplicity of the Greeks, but everywhere substituted florid, and yet often meagre, ornaments for the chaste elegance of their boasted models. This is most manifest in the transformations which the Grecian orders received at their hands. The sturdy Doric, though not capable of being harmonized with the members of another constructive system, was at least in some sort analogous to the Roman pier and arch, as possessing a common element of dignified and masculine simplicity. But this noble order received but little favour at the hands of the Roman builders. The remains of Pompeii indeed exhibit it in something like its original purity, but these can hardly be considered as fair Roman examples, being rather vestiges of the better times of Magna Græcia. The pure form was not employed by the Romans, who substituted for it a thing which they ventured to call Doric, but from which every characteristic of the old Greek form has vanished. The magnificent boldness of the abacus and echinus is frittered away in a series of petty mouldings, and the shaft, ruthlessly elongated and attenuated, is made to rest on a base, which is often, according to the Roman fashion, further stilted on a pedestal.

The Ionic order suffered in like manner ; the volutes being now set diagonally. There is indeed, as we have seen¹ reason to believe that this was the earliest form which the voluted capital

¹ Page 110.

assumed; still it was one which the better taste of the Greeks rejected; and the effect was that in Roman hands, "the Ionic had in its capital the beautiful variety and contrast between the front and sides of the volute changed into perfect sameness."¹ The Corinthian was the order which they most usually employed, and not having that inventive power by which the Greeks were enabled to diversify the forms of its foliage, they attempted variety by a monstrous combination of the Ionic volute and the Corinthian acanthus. This, under the name of Composite, stands last in the array of "the five orders of architecture," as if even Roman perversity could go no farther.

The utmost that can be said in favour of this mixed style is that, when the incongruity of its component parts is not carried to such a degree as to be painfully thrust upon the eye, it possesses a sort of wild and fantastic richness, and is consequently capable of producing a striking effect. It is something like Arabian architecture, a display of capricious and whimsical forms, combined together with the most lavish splendour, but disdaining to be bound by any laws of just taste. But it will not, like Grecian or Gothic architecture, bear the test of a minute examination. It must be taken as a whole, and, if subjected to detailed criticism, it fails at once. And though a building is meant to be viewed as a whole, yet that cannot be considered as good architecture which is not also satisfactory in its parts. Roman architecture can only take its stand on the ground of mere vastness and magnificence; it cannot even claim so high a place as those specimens of cinquecento and debased Gothic, which often exhibit the most perfect grouping combined with the most barbarous detail.

Even where Grecian buildings were more directly imitated, and as no arches were introduced, there was consequently no room for any attempt to combine them with the entablature, the immense difference between Grecian and Roman art is still most perceptible. The declension in point of skill is worthy of that moral declension by which the frieze, once the receptacle for the sculptured deeds of gods and heroes, is defaced by the fulsome titles of some deified monster.² If we take two of the most favourable specimens of Græco-Roman art, the temple of Fortuna Virilis at Rome, and the Maison Carrée at Nismes, the most fastidious

¹ Hope, p. 75.

² Witness the temple of Faustina!

taste could hardly find any grounds of objection in the architecture of their porticoes; the latter is an exquisite example of Corinthian, the former of Ionic, preserving too the Grecian form of the volutes. But in a lateral view the rows of engaged columns are but poor substitutes for the majestic peristyle, and are in point of reality inferior to the honest blank wall of the temple *in antis*.

The Romans introduced much greater variety of outline than the Greeks, and as the ascendancy of the horizontal line was destroyed by their system of building, this must certainly be considered as an improvement. The circular form, employed by the Greeks only in such toys as the monument of Lysicrates,¹ now began to be used in structures of great extent. The bold sweep of the outline in a Roman amphitheatre harmonizes well with that of the arcades which pierce its walls. And it is even found to harmonize with the use of columns, as in the temple of Vesta or of the Sibyl at Tibur, where the very great beauty of the circular peristyle cannot be denied. The great Pantheon however, with its portico stuck on to a circular body, seems somewhat difficult to defend; and the portico itself, much as it has been admired, will be found altogether wanting, when judged by the true principles of Grecian art. Unfluted Corinthian columns, an entablature of meagre elevation, with its frieze devoted to a mere inscription, and all crushed by a bare pediment of preposterous height, are a sad falling off from the Parthenon and the temple of Theseus.

But the structures which, after all, serve to set before us in the most vivid manner the wonderful extent of the dominion of Rome, and the spirit of energy and magnificence which she communicated to every portion of her empire, are not to be sought for in Rome herself or in the neighbouring lands which she had completely imbued with her system, but in her dependencies in the farthest east. The fallen cities of Syria, the wonderful remains of Palmyra and Baalbec, still tell in their most splendid monuments, not of their own ancient rulers, but of the undying power of the mighty city of the west. The palaces of Solomon and Benhadad have vanished, but the works

¹ With this we may class the monument at St. Remi, figured by Mr. Petit, a gem even prettier than that of Lysicrates, as the upper part

has a miniature circular peristyle, really open, and not, like the Athenian example, engaged.

of the Cæsars still remain, rivalling in extent and magnificence the proudest fabrics of their own imperial home. Everywhere that the Roman power was established, from the shores of the ocean to the banks of the Euphrates, we shall find the same spirit impressed upon its gigantic works; the same sumptuous gorgeousness, regardless of cost and labour, and we must add, the same incapacity for grasping the highest beauty.

Of these remains by far the most interesting, as exhibiting the phases taken by the style when applied to an unwonted mode of construction, are the wonderful excavations at Petra. They are not indeed exclusively Roman, their architecture being in many cases, like that of the Grecian structures in Asia Minor, intermingled with oriental ideas. Thus we find many deviations from the established forms of the west in the proportions and enrichments of columns and entablature, especially several species of capitals which cannot be referred to any of the regular orders. Indeed M. Léon de Laborde states that those monuments are "far the most numerous, which do not owe their origin to the domination or the taste of the Romans."¹ Some on the other hand, including the most magnificent of all, called the Khasné, are undoubtedly Roman, and there are several points of resemblance between these and the native structures. In all we see, as in the Persian excavations, a style applied to a purpose for which it was not originally intended, and which consequently evaporated in flat, though gorgeous, external decoration; utterly opposed to the free and bold treatment of the Egyptian and Indian excavations. There is but little beyond a superficial imitation of the forms of constructed buildings; façades of the greatest magnificence being carved in an unmeaning manner upon the surface of the rocks. There is a great tendency to pile order upon order, and thus to accumulate almost innumerable rows of columns and pilasters, often intersected by strongly

¹ Page 164. The author does not distinctly state whether he looks on these monuments as being actually anterior in point of time to the Roman domination, or as simply retaining an elder style. In some cases there is a palpable intermingling.

Some of the buildings which are otherwise decidedly Roman, exhibit nondescript columns, and, even when the classical orders are employed, they are frequently shorn of their full proportions.

marked entablatures and other horizontal lines. These produce an effect very much resembling cinque-cento, a style of which we have already seen somewhat analogous foreshadowings among the remains of Lycia and Hindostan.

But even the most distinctively Roman works at Petra exhibit the inherent faults of the style as fully as those by the banks of the Tiber. Broken and projecting entablatures, useless columns, porticoes cut in half, and all the other perversities of the Roman mind, appear in full force. An engaged representation of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, or something similar, appears to be a favourite ornament. It appears in the Khasné, over the great portico which forms the entrance to the excavation, with a second half portico on each side of it.

After all, for the really grandest monuments of Roman art, we must turn to those structures whose style most nearly approaches to the naked arched construction, where the Grecian features are cast away, or made entirely secondary. In the exterior of amphitheatres the importance of the Grecian members is very small, the arches are decidedly the main features, the columns and entablatures being quite secondary. This is to a certain extent the case with the great Colosseum itself, and much more with the provincial structures at Arles and Nîmes. Flat Tuscan or Doric pilasters very soon sink into the pilaster-buttress of the Romanesque. In the lower stage of the amphitheatre of Nîmes this is decidedly the idea which they present; at Bourdeaux the courses of masonry in the wall are carried through the pilasters, which consequently lose all separate existence, and are no longer columns in any sense, but mere projections from the wall, buttresses with quasi-capitals. From this the transition to the genuine pilaster-buttress is easy, and we see it without any capital, and with all trace of classical proportion vanished, in the palace of Constantine at Treves.

From these examples we easily come back to the most truly Roman of all structures, their aqueducts. Here we have no Grecian members at all, but arches supported by square piers.¹

¹ Architecture nowhere presents the sublime arcades, and the *cas-*
a more striking contrast than in *tellum*,* assuming the form of a
the aqueduct at Evora, between circular temple.

* See Dict. of Ant., Art. Aquæductus.

Sometimes, as in that at Luynes, these are of an extravagant height, which is avoided in the noble Pont du Gard, by raising tier upon tier. In the words of Mr. Petit,¹ "as in Roman buildings the Grecian members of the system often took the character of mere ornament, the arch with its piers and imposts constituted the real framework of the fabric; so when strength and solidity alone were required, the Grecian members altogether vanished, and a pure system of arches was retained." These instances are certainly to be regarded as examples of a pure and perfect style of architecture, and are among the most successful developments of the great idea of that style. Constructively they present no deficiency; every mechanical feature stands forth complete and undisguised. What is wanting in Roman architecture is an appropriate system of decoration. This was not needed for a bridge or an aqueduct; consequently in such erections the style is left to develop itself naturally. In its ornamental structures the enrichment is not part of the natural architecture: wherever this latter is preserved, it is only by the absence of all ornament. Under whose hands, and by what process, the Roman construction was provided with such an appropriate system of decoration, must be the subject of our next investigations.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE.

THUS far have we traced the history of architecture through the different ages and nations of what is commonly known as the ancient world; the old world of heathendom in all its countless forms, from the dark mysteries of Egypt, to the sunny brightness of Greece; from the low and grovelling idolatry that bowed before an ape or an onion, to the soul of art and poetry that kindled the glittering splendours of Olympus; from the dim and awful vastness of the shrines of an Apis or an Anubis, to the living grace that befitted the pure Apollo and the Athenian

¹ I. 47.

Maid. We have also seen how conquered Greece led captive her conquerors : how, while the Pnyx no longer echoed to the voice of Pericles, and the groves of Colonus were no longer vocal with the song of Sophocles, the spirit of Homer and Callicrates had found an empire in the land of their bondage, in the forum of Romulus, and by the banks of the yellow Tiber. We have seen too how little kindred was the soil on which they had lighted ; how the grace and buoyancy of the Greek proved but an incongruous garb for the stern greatness of Roman energy ; how his poetry was but the feeble echo of the harp of Chios and the lute of Lesbos, his architecture a vain attempt to bring the massive piers and ponderous vaults of his own land into harmony with the tall columns of the matchless shrines he vainly sought to imitate. The beautiful forms of Grecian art were a mere yoke, which kept the genuine spirit of Roman building from its legitimate expression. It is, as we have seen, in the buildings least affected by it that the real Roman construction, the pier and the round arch, comes out in all its purity and majesty, and it was by these elements, more than by the Grecian system unnaturally united to them, that Rome has exercised so wide and lasting an influence upon the architecture of the whole civilized world.

But it was not the old Rome of Pontiffs and Augurs, of Consuls and Emperors, that was to mould the arts of Teutonic Christendom. Before she could influence the race on whom the spirit of the Church was to take the firmest hold, she had herself to bend before the Cross. The greatness of Rome is indeed exclusively heathen ; the adherents of the old pagan creed might truly say, that when the altars of Victory ceased to smoke on the Capitol, she herself ceased to wait on the imperial eagles ; the existence of the Eternal City seemed bound up in the worship of the Gods to whom the Tarquins had bowed, and under whose auspices Camillus and Scipio had marched forth to conquest. Emperors might preside in the Councils of the Church ; holy Fathers might exhort the successors of Augustus in the tongue of Cicero ; bishops, and monks, and virgins might adorn their profession with every virtue that could grace the Christian name ; no victim throughout the Roman world might bleed on an idol altar ; but the life of the nation, its history, its greatness was still heathen ; its Christianity was but the precursor of its fall. It

endured but to pass the torch of truth to a race springing into life with all the fervency of youthful vigour, whose greatness might be cradled in the lap of the Church, and during its historic being have known no other faith. This was the work of Christian Rome, to lay the foundation among another people of a truly Christian commonwealth; and, this its work accomplished, it passed away. Constantine and Theodosius might be Kings and Christians; it was reserved for Charlemagne and St. Louis to be truly Christian Kings.

And so too in art; Christian Rome gave only the faint foreshadowing of a style, which herself had not vigour to bring to perfection; a germ which other nations developed into its full glory. The long arcades of her basilicas contained an element which other lands wrought into all the splendours of Spires and Peterborough, we may add even of the tall aisles of Westminster, and the peerless nave of Canterbury; but on the soil where they first arose the germ was lifeless and unexpansive; her own noblest piles are but the tribute which Teutonic or Byzantine art paid back to the land of their birth; while Rome herself, amid the glories that others had built on her foundation, was like the beacon that points out the path which itself may never tread; like her own poet, whose profession was,

. . . fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.

We have already seen that the classical Roman style is a mere transition, an inconsistent jumble of contrary principles. The first dawnings of better things are to be looked for in times on which the classical purist looks down with unmitigated contempt. The architects who, in the later days of the empire, cast aside the useless entablature altogether, brought the arch forward into notice, and made it and its pier—whether a square mass of wall or a Corinthian column, it matters not,—the chief features of the building in appearance as well as in reality, were those who gave to Roman architecture its first approach to a consistent form. It may be true that the art of detail was then miserably debased, or rather lost, that the sculptures of one building were often actually removed to ornament

new ones ; still the building itself was constructed on a rational and consistent principle.

But the style was as yet far from being brought to perfection ; a reluctance still existed utterly to forsake the beautiful forms of Grecian art, incongruous as they were with the principles of Roman building. As long as anything like a Roman empire lasted, and even still later, the influence of Grecian skill yet lingered ; the buildings of Rome itself never quite cast it off ; it is to the Romanesque styles that we are to look for the perfect development of the round-arched form of architecture. Thrown back as were the arts by the incursions of the Northern tribes, fallen as may have been the minutiae of detail, the elegancies of sculpture and painting, yet most certainly the true principles of architecture, superior to any such minuter considerations, revived after a season under the hands of the northern builders ; and the Romanesque style, under the different forms which it assumed in different lands, was developed into its full excellence in the majestic piles which bear witness to the skill and munificence of the builders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Beautiful as were many of the churches already produced in Italy by the Lombard builders, they were far surpassed by those of Rhenish Germany ; and I apprehend we must go on still farther, and that it is in our own Norman structures that we are to look for the perfection of the round-arched style ; the piers and arches stand forward boldly as the main features, and a system of ornament is introduced which, whatever be its origin, and whatever opinion may be held as to the beauty of its individual parts, must be allowed to harmonize well with the forms of the building, and to add greatly to its general effect.

Such is a rapid sketch of the progress of the Roman or round-arched style from the time when its legitimate system of ornament supplanted the incongruous combination of arch and entablature, to that when it had itself to yield in turn to the pointed arch and the ornamental forms adapted to that construction. We shall, in subsequent chapters, trace out at greater length the various and, as they have been well called, Protean forms, which architecture assumed during this most important period. The greater part of its duration extends through a period too commonly neglected as a mere chaos of darkness

and barbarism ; but it was a darkness out of which a self-born light was soon to arise, a healthy, vigorous barbarism containing the latent seed of civilization. Wherever the two races are brought into contact with each other, the stern and hardy virtues of the Northern conquerors bespeak a far higher standard, physical, intellectual, and moral, than the worn out and enervated system of Rome could supply. It was a confused mass indeed, not however of dead matter, but of living and moving germs ready to rise into full being at the first touch of creative power. As from the primeval chaos the light, and life, and order of the universe gradually arose, so the political and religious institutions of the Teutonic race, the mighty fabric of mediæval Christendom, the manners, government, and languages of modern days, sprung from the inborn vigour of these times of noble barbarism. So too in their palaces and temples, the style which Rome had just vigour enough to free from absurdities, but not to bring to real perfection, was seized by the plastic hand of the Northman, and soon gained in real grandeur and majesty, in true artistic and religious feeling, far more than it lost by casting to the winds the pedantic precepts of an effete and incongruous system.

But though we must boldly challenge the perfection of the Roman style as belonging to the buildings of England, France, and Germany, rather than to those of its parent Italy, it must not be concealed that even in Rome itself, the light of Christianity kindled anew for a moment the embers of its decaying greatness. When the lord of the Roman world bowed beneath the crozier of St. Ambrose, a nobler example of moral dignity was shown than the mightiest deeds of Manlius or Fabius could boast ; so when once the breath of truth had touched the falling pile, the rude structures of a decaying and degraded style of art gained from the holy inspiration a truer beauty than had adorned even the proudest works of heathendom. "The early basilicas, generally little more than a patchwork of odd fragments, agreeing neither in material, colour, substance, form, proportion, nor workmanship, eked out next to that which was most elegant by that which was most rude—they yet, through the simplicity of the general form, and the consistency of the general distribution, display a grandeur produced neither by the last architecture of

Pagan Rome, after it had, in that architecture, dismissed all its Grecian consistency; nor, above all, by what has been called the later restoration of that architecture, loaded with all the additional extravagance of modern Italy."¹

CHAPTER III.

OF BASILICAN ARCHITECTURE.

IN tracing the several transmutations of the round-arched style, we can at once class them under two great divisions, according to a very important difference in their decorative construction, namely the form assumed by the pier² on which the arch is supported. This may either be a mere mass of wall, whether left square or otherwise decorated, or a real pillar, whether actually assignable to one of the classical orders or not. The two forms will be often found co-existing in the same age and country, but their origin is quite distinct. The first is the natural and legitimate treatment of the arch, and best harmonizes with the solidity and sturdiness of a round-arched style; the other is adopted from the Grecian system, and we shall consequently find that it is only under great modifications that it becomes really imbued with the spirit of the style. Yet, as the piers and arches of the less ornate Roman structures had received but little change from the imitation of Grecian forms, it is to columnar architecture that we must look for the most instructive lessons in the process by which those forms were gradually cast aside.

It is to an edifice which to the mere classical eye is simply the work of a degenerate age, and a thoroughly debased style of art, that the historian of architecture must look for the earliest existing specimen of the legitimate combination of the column and the round arch. The architecture of Diocletian's Palace at

¹ Hope on Architecture, p. 112.

² I use this term as one of construction, to express any support for an arch; that of "pillar" to express one of its decorative forms, of

which "column" is a subordinate variety, namely a pillar belonging or approximating to one of the Grecian orders.

Spalatro cannot be called faultless, or even good ; but it is, on the whole, consistent and intelligible, and has in many parts worked itself entirely clear of absurdities. In almost all its arcades, the arch and its column are the prominent feature ; the arch springs boldly from the capital ; the entablature has nearly vanished ; a mere cornice over the arcade, channelled with its members, is quite harmless. The arches too are channelled with architrave mouldings, which are of course incongruous ; the forms which suit the horizontal entablature cannot in such a position display their peculiar beauty, and become meagre and unmeaning. Still the circumstance is valuable ; it shows how fully the architect had grasped the great fact that the arch must be to the new style what the entablature had been to the old ; that the arch is a curved entablature, the entablature a straight arch ; as the arch had not yet worked out a system of decoration of its own, he naturally enough transferred to it the decorations of the entablature.

The general style of this building does not differ materially from that of the early basilicas. The mention of these buildings at once brings before us the first triumphs of our religion, the days when the powers of the world first bowed before the Cross. It was not merely that one religious system displaced another ; it was not the temple of idols that became the Temple of the True God ; but the hall of the imperial palace, the throne of this world's power, the judgment-seat of Cæsar, that became the shrine of His worship Who at that judgment-seat had been condemned. There, in the very tribune where the proud heathen had so often sat to deliver over the patient martyr to the sword or to the lions, was upreared the altar where the holy gifts were offered over that martyr's relics. Foreshadowing, indeed, of the days when the Church should lead captive every earthly power, when Kings and Cæsars received from her their crowns, and the sword of the earthly warrior was blessed at her altars and bared for the ransom of the Holy Tomb. The lordliest pile that Christians ever reared could not raise such a throb of triumphant gratitude as when the Church first entered upon the treasures of vanquished heathendom ; when the might, the learning, the art of the Pagan world became her servants to do her will, and the halls of her oppressors were sanctified by her holiest worship. It is this

spoiling of the adversary, this entering into other men's labours, that makes Cologne and Ely names less dear to Christendom than the first fruits of its triumph in the palace of the Lateran, or than those more glorious spoils of Gothic victories, than proud Seville with her "tower of giants old," or the wondrous "forest" of innumerable pillars in the rescued mosque of Cordova.

"It was a fearful joy, I ween,
To trace the heathen's toil,
The limpid wells, the orchards green
Left ready for the spoil,
The household stores untouched, the roses bright
Wreathed o'er the cottage walls in garlands of delight."¹

And as with the fabric itself, so with the style wherein it was reared; as long as Imperial Rome was in moral influence the ruling centre of Christendom—a period extending very long after the days when Herulan, and Goth, and Lombard had swept away her political power; as long as the aspect of Christendom was that of a triumphant conqueror enthroned in the dwellings of a vanquished foe, so long was it natural that Christian builders should cling to the very forms and details that told of the conquered Paynim.

"The olive wreath, the ivied wand,
'The sword in myrtles drest,'
Each legend of the shadowy strand,
Now wakes a vision blest."

The grace of the curling volute, the richness of the acanthus-leaf, which once had decked the shrines of idols, now uplifted the canopy that overshadowed the altar of the MOST HIGH. The very symbols of the fallen worship received a holier meaning;² the sculptured harvest and vintage now told not of Eleusinian mysteries and Bacchanalian revelry, but of the bloodless sacrifice to which the cornfield and the vineyard supplied the pure oblation. The beasts of the forest charmed by the minstrel's lyre, the Thunderer's eagle bending in homage to the soothing power of song, told no longer of Phœbus, of the Muse, or of their Thracian son; but of Him of Whom the "pure

¹ Christian Year.

² See Hope, chap. xvi.

God " may without irreverence be deemed a dim foreshadowing, Whose power can curb the wild passions and bend the savage will, and in Whose kingdom "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid."

Not shame then should we deem it, but the glory of the Church, that she bends to her will every feeling, and art, and institution that human power may devise ; that the triple splendours of her long-drawn nave and aisles, the branching transepts, the mighty apse canopying the gorgeous altar, are but the spoils of her enemies ; that each and all are but developed beneath her living breath from the colonnades, chalcidica, and tribune of the heathen hall of judgment.

At Rome, during the reigns of Constantine and his immediate successors, Christianity was indeed the religion of the sovereign, and had all the weight of royal influence and example, but it was as yet only his personal religion, supported by his personal influence, and could not be in any sense considered as an established or national worship. Victims still bled to the gods of heathendom, and Christian Emperors scrupled not to wear the insignia of the high pontiffs of the old religion. When, therefore, Constantine first looked around his capital for edifices to consecrate to his new faith, the temples of the still prevalent idolatry could not, for this reason alone, that they were still frequented by their former worshippers, be the structures assigned for that purpose. But reasons of deeper import would have prevented a general metamorphosis of heathen temples into churches. Pagan worship did not seek to throng the interior of its holy places with adoring crowds ; their position was within the sacred precinct indeed, but only within its courts, or beneath its spacious porticoes. Hence it was without that its splendours were displayed, the rich extended façade is all that the heathen shrine can boast ; the actual temple itself, pent in by four blank walls, was of small extent, dark or hypæthral, and accessible to the priesthood alone. But the very essence of Christian worship requires, as a general rule, the presence of the worshippers within the temple ; it is inside that all the holiest things are placed, and here accordingly the full glories of its architecture are developed. The outside is but the shell and husk of the material symbol of her " who is all glorious within ;" the tower is but

the guiding landmark, the west front the mere portal, to the glorious vista of pillar, arch, and vault, leading gradually onward to the crowning point of all, the altar. Hence the basilica offered far greater facilities for conversion to ecclesiastical uses than could be found in any idolatrous temple. It already possessed the long nave separated by arcades from its smaller aisles, sometimes a single one, sometimes two on either side; in some cases a kind of transept, called *chalcidica*, crossed them at one end; in most cases the central avenue was terminated by a semicircular apse, which in those which were still employed as courts of justice, (for some had been applied to mercantile uses,) contained the seat of the presiding magistrate. In all this it is plain that we have the complete type of a Christian Church; "the transept," says Mr. Hope, "already in heathen times seeming, by its disposition with regard to the nave, to have foretold the future triumph of the cross."¹ The necessary arrangements for Christian worship were readily made; the altar was placed at the end of the nave, on the chord of the apse; the Bishop's throne behind it took the place of that of the judge, while the subordinate seats of the presbytery were ranged on either side of him along the walls of the semicircle. The choir for the inferior ministers, not marked in the construction, was formed in the nave by screening off a sufficient space in front of the altar; while the long nave and aisles accommodated the congregation, the lateral division maintaining the requisite separation of the sexes.

To the west end—to use the most familiar nomenclature, for of course the basilicas of heathen construction pointed divers ways, and orientation,² in our sense, was not the universal rule of the Church till a later period—was attached a portico. This in Christian churches was the place for catechumens and penitents, and as the place of discipline, was called the *narthex*, that is scourge or ferule. This seems to have soon developed into a cortile, or cloister, an open square surrounded by pillars, which is found in many early churches.

The two basilicas converted into churches by Constantine, and

¹ Page 89.

cussed at some length in Webb's

² See this curious question dis-

Continental Ecclesiology, p. 480.

the churches which he erected at Rome on the same type, and bearing the same name, were soon demolished. The series of existing basilican churches in Italy extends from the reign of Theodosius to the Lombard invasion; in some instances they are found even of later date. Rome itself never fully adopted the Lombard style, but constantly adhered with more or less success to her classical models. So late as 1139,¹ we find in the church of St. Mary in Trastevere, at Rome, built by Pope Innocent II., an actual return to all the absurdities of the combined arch and entablature. We see here the colonnade of a Grecian temple transferred to the interior of a church, only to show how utterly inappropriate it is in such a position; and, after all, the entablature is a mere pretence, as a row of low segmental brick arches peeps out through the frieze. And even in other parts of Italy we find many churches adhering to the old tradition, in spite of all the splendid innovations of the northern builders. St. Miniato² near Florence, (1013,) St. Nicolas at Bari in Apulia, (1103,) and the very beautiful church of St. Mary at Toscanella, (1216,) are all rather Basilican than pure Romanesque. They deviate in many respects from the purity of the elder basilicas, but still they completely belong to them in spirit, and stand totally distinct both from the more fully developed Romanesque of Northern Italy, and from the revived Italian of later days. It is the old classical and imperial feeling surviving after the lapse of so many ages and so many revolutions in art, politics, and religion.

Even out of Italy strong traces of basilican influence are often to be found. The student of ecclesiology will recognize its influence in the ritual arrangements³ of many Cathedral and Conventual Churches; while the architectural inquirer will readily perceive its traces in not a few scattered edifices of early Romanesque date. Indeed even the Norman of not a few of our own smaller churches is in many respects a return to it. The celebrated Church of St. Peter at Northampton, did it but terminate in an apse—which may probably have been the case at first,

¹ So Mr. Knight. Mr. Webb (Continental Ecclesiology, p. 530,) says, "This very ancient basilica was rebuilt by St. Gregory III., between 731 and 741, and has not been

much altered since as to plan and shell."

² See Webb, p. 346.

³ See the "Ecclesiologist," Vol. V., p. 137.

as its east end has been long destroyed—presents in its long colonnades of slender pillars a plan and idea completely basilican, though its details are of course of a quite different and much later character.

But omitting these later structures, and confining ourselves to those Italian churches which have the best claim to the title of basilicas, we shall find that among an immense variety of detail, their essential features correspond most remarkably to one unvarying type. The plan and arrangement of the Christian basilica remained identical with that of its heathen predecessor; little or no change was introduced in architecture, that art being naturally far less open than painting and sculpture to innovations directly originating in the new faith. The exterior of these primitive churches has little to attract, not one of the features which give majesty or elegance to the external outlines of other styles being allowed by the basilican type. The spreading dome of the Byzantine, and the soaring spire of the Gothic minster are alike unknown; instead of the wonderful groupings of the Rhenish churches, we have nothing but a long dead wall, unbroken by porch or buttress, by cupola or tower; for the tall campanile of later Italy was not yet. "The walls," says Mr. Gally Knight, (p. iii.) "were substantially built of thin bricks, mostly put together with little cement, but they were left perfectly plain. The only attempt at external ornament was a low portico, which did not ascend above half the height of the front. Above this portico there were usually three long, round-headed, undivided windows, symmetrically arranged, and, above these, a round window in the pediment." Yet it is clear that in this arrangement we may find the rude element which was afterwards developed into the richest fronts. "Windows," he continues, "of the same kind were introduced on either side of the church, immediately under the eaves, and if they added little to the appearance of the building, they admitted abundance of light. The portals, like those of the classical models in their neighbourhood, were uniformly square-headed, and were often enriched with sculptured architraves taken from earlier buildings."

Such were the external features of an ancient basilica; rude, mean, and unornamented, but still honest and consistent. In

the above description we read of nothing paltry or deceptive ; no sham façades or unmeaning columns. Its own system of decoration not being as yet developed, the new style at all events scorned an incongruous borrowing from the old, and exhibited its own constructive features in a garb of simple reality, on which after ages might superinduce an appropriate form of decoration.

Within, however, the new form of building possessed much greater capabilities ; the long rows of columns are always striking, and often really beautiful. They were generally taken from the numerous buildings of heathen Rome, which by the triumph of the new faith were rendered useless. Being of different sizes and orders, they were shortened, stilted on pedestals, or otherwise by Procrustean violence brought to the requisite height ; and their bases and capitals were frequently replaced by others in the debased style of the times. Still however the classical models and proportions are always aimed at, and more or less successfully followed.

The original form of the heathen basilica was an "insulated portico,"¹ with a peristyle, and remained open to the air. The columns of course supported a continuous entablature : and over them was a second similar tier, as appears from the representation on a medal of Lepidus, of the *Æmilian Basilica*. Subsequently a wall was substituted for the peristyle, and the use of columns was confined to the interior ; when they still supported an entablature. In this form it came under the influence of Christian requirements, as is shown in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem erected by Constantine at the request of his mother, St. Helena. But the employment of the entablature was not likely to be of long continuance, while the arch offered so much greater advantages. Besides its direct constructive advantages, it would diminish the requisite number of columns, and consequently present a less impervious barrier between the nave and its aisles. Hence in the Christian basilicas of Italy the columns support round arches ; and the construction is treated with infinitely greater good taste than in most churches of the "Revival." The arches retain the purity of

¹ Dict. of Ant., Art. Basilica.

their continuous sweep, unbroken by the fantastic and senseless key-stone; and rest, simply and naturally, on the capitals of the pillars; the thousand shifts by which modern architects endeavour to thrust in an entablature are altogether dispensed with. A few mouldings occasionally found above the regular capital hardly contradict the above general rule, and amount only to a heavier abacus. The arches are of one order, channelled generally with but few and not very decided mouldings; the square section being retained, and ornament found in surface carving or colour. The soffits also are frequently panelled or painted.

Above the arcades the wall rises to a considerable height; the gallery, though occasionally introduced, is more frequently absent, and the space immediately above, answering to the triforium of later churches, is not pierced. It most commonly has a kind of entablature running along it, but not so marked as to interfere with the due prominence of the arcade. Its frieze is often superbly decorated with painting and sculpture; the compartments of which are sometimes divided by flat pilasters. The clerestory consists of round-headed windows simply pierced where they are wanted; in some cases, as in the later styles, two are grouped under a single arch.

A wall of any height supported by columns of classical proportions could hardly be of thickness sufficient to sustain a vault; hence that most beautiful and appropriate covering for a church does not appear in the ancient basilica, except in the conch of the apse, which could hardly be otherwise treated. "In the churches built by Constantine, and some other of the earlier churches, the beams and rafters were concealed by a flat ceiling of gilt panels. This however was soon discontinued, and the wooden roofs of ancient churches, neither concealed nor carved, as are the roofs of buildings in the Pointed style, became, and for long continued, an unsightly part of the fabric." So Mr. Gally Knight; and nothing certainly can better answer the description than the bare low-pitched rafters and tie-beams of even the most magnificent basilicas figured in his splendid work.

The apse is naturally entered by an arch, a feature eagerly seized upon for decoration, under the name of the Arch of Triumph; in transeptal churches two such, like the nave and chancel arches

of our own lanterns, are necessarily introduced. The apse is generally enriched with every kind of decoration that the accessory arts can supply, and is often surrounded by pilasters. The altar, on its chord, is surmounted by a tall canopy on four pillars, known as the ciborium.

The pride of basilican architecture is doubtless the glorious Church¹ of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, the work of the fifth century. Its unbroken rows of columns rival in length our vastest Cathedral naves, with the additional splendour and spaciousness of the double aisles. The immense number of the pillars, and the consequent small span of the arches, produce a degree of richness unsurpassable, and which perfectly disarms all criticism. Perhaps, however, it might almost seem to be the work of an architect whose thoughts were hardly weaned from the old construction, and who did not wholly realize the capabilities of the arch. And this circumstance is the more remarkable, as the later Italian churches are in so many instances distinguished by the disproportionately wide span of their pier-arches.

On a general review of Basilican architecture we shall find that it contains all the main elements, both ritual and architectural, of the most perfect Gothic Minster. All the essential parts of a church—nave, choir, sacarium—are as clearly found in the Basilica of St. Clement at Rome as in the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster. Architecturally too, we have the complete elevation of pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory. What then is wanting? what so widely distinguishes these early buildings from our own Gothic, or even Romanesque, churches? Simply that these essential parts do indeed exist, but in a mere lifeless juxtaposition; they are connected physically, but not artistically; there is no attempt to combine them into an harmonious whole. The triforial entablature surmounts the arcade, is itself surmounted by the clerestory, and the whole by the roof, simply because each of these was required by the necessities of the building; but they are in no degree fused together; all are independent, and might be conceived apart. The division is purely horizontal; a bay of a basilica is a thing which cannot be imagined. Size, splendour,

¹ This magnificent church was unsatisfactory manner.—See Webb, nearly destroyed by fire in 1823, p. 538; Pictorial Hist. of Eng. i. and is now being rebuilt in a most 311.

even proportion, may make basilican architecture pleasing to the eye, and no other style has associations which can speak so powerfully to the heart ; but the living soul of art is wanting. It has freed itself from the absurdities and inconsistencies of heathen Rome, and has become constructively honest, simple, and natural. This was indeed no mean step in the right direction, but it was all that Rome could effect ; combination, harmony, and unity were to come from another source.

CHAPTER IV.

OF OTHER EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY.

THE Basilica so soon worked out for itself a completely distinct type that its name may be legitimately given to a style of architecture. Basilicas however were not the only ecclesiastical buildings erected in Italy during the prevalence of that style ; and upon secular erections its influence seems to have been comparatively trifling. In some buildings of this kind we find the style more advanced, in others less so, than in the basilican churches.

The oblong and the cross, in their several varieties, have been in all ages the ordinary forms of churches ; some however, at all times, have been circular. Such was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, erected by St. Helena ; and such has been in most ages the form of a few occasional erections, having by dedication or otherwise, an especial connection with that sacred spot, or "directly intended for sepulchral chapels."¹

The round and polygonal forms are closely connected, so much so that the clerestory of a round church sometimes becomes octagonal without greatly altering the general effect ; and we shall soon see how the two shapes run into each other in the case of an almost identical feature, the dome. We may therefore class together the round sepulchral chapel and the polygonal baptistery.

The last was in the early ages of the Church a distinct building in which the baptismal service was performed, and many

¹ Hope.

splendid examples of such structures of all dates still remain in Italy. In more northern countries this practice does not seem to have been at any time very prevalent.

Among circular Christian buildings the precedence is due to what is now the Church of St. Constantia at Rome,¹ originally erected by the Emperor Constantine as a baptistery, but employed as a sepulchral chapel for his daughter. Its architecture is by no means so advanced as that of the basilicas, the absurdities of the classical Roman being retained in full force. The piers are each formed of two detached Composite columns placed in the direction of the radii of the circle, and supporting an entablature, from which rise the arches, which, being absurdly stilted and cut off from their supports, have a painful appearance of insecurity. Above is a range of clerestory windows; the roof is domical within, with an external cone; the aisles are vaulted. It is hardly necessary to remark the exact correspondence between this building and our own round churches.

The building at Rome usually known as the baptistery of Constantine, but attributed by Mr. Gally Knight and Mr. Webb to the Pontificate of Sixtus III., who died in 440, is of a character still more classical; eight porphyry columns of the Ionic order divide the inner octagon from the surrounding aisle, and support an entablature without any arches. Above these is now another smaller tier supporting the dome and the flat ceilings of the aisles; but these are supposed by Mr. Knight to be an addition of the time of Pope Anastasius III., who is recorded to have raised the walls and added a new roof, in the year 1153.

To these we may add a building slightly analogous and equally classical in design, the circular mausoleum of the great Theodoric, near Ravenna, now also a church;² it is famous for that wonder of mechanical skill, its monolith dome.

On the other hand we may quote the remains of the palace of the same monarch in the same city,³ as infinitely in advance of their age. It may indeed be true that this illustrious prince encouraged in every way those arts which he found already exist-

¹ See Webb, 504.

² Ditto, 434.

³ It should however be mentioned, that Mr. Hope attributes

this building to the Lombard kings. The inference is in either case the same.

ing: but that can be no proof that new life was not given to them by their first contact with the Teutonic stock. A Gothic king, the head of a free and victorious people, revelling in all the youthful vigour of their national existence, must have been a very different patron of art from the degraded Cæsars of the worn-out empire.¹ In this first of Teutonic buildings, every mind not quite warped by the pedantry of classicalism must at once recognize not only a wonderful change, but a wonderful improvement. The architect at once grasped the great law that the construction and the decoration must be derived from the same source. The chief constructive principle of Roman architecture is the round arch; here it becomes for the first time the great source of decoration. We have here no ancient or modern Italian mock façade, with useless colonnades, unmeaning entablatures, and sham pediments, but a front which at first sight might be the work of Gundulph or Walkelyn. The ornamental arcades, the double window divided by the shaft, the shallow buttress with its pedimental finish, are almost identical with what we are familiar with in the Romanesque of our land. Let us again hear Mr. Knight, a judge not disposed to look too favourably on any departure from the antique. "It was the first time that small pillars, supported by brackets, had been used in Italy as external decorations: and the first time that small pillars had been introduced as divisions of windows. The great change however, is in the doorway, which, in classical buildings, had always been square-headed, and which, in this building, is round."

In fact, this building, and this doorway, notwithstanding its awkward impost,—perhaps a lingering vestige of the entablature,—form an epoch in the history of architecture. We do not here see the five orders in their purity, either alone or separate, but we have for the first time a simple and consistent form of decoration. The designer of this doorway might contradict the pedantic stringency of would-be classic rules, but he first applied to that feature the great laws of consistency and reality; he planted a germ which was to fructify into the western doorway of Rochester, and the more glorious portals of Rheims and Beauvais.

¹ See Schlegel's History of Literature, p. 189. English Translation.

CHAPTER V.

OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE.

WE have now to contemplate architecture in an entirely different land, and developing, under its changed circumstances, into forms altogether dissimilar from what we have hitherto beheld. Basilican and Byzantine architecture are two starting points from which almost all subsequent forms may be derived ; their influence runs in two streams, sometimes remaining parallel and distinct, sometimes converging and commingling. Indeed the chief value of Byzantine art is derived from the results of this commixture as seen in the later buildings of Italy and Germany. As a form of art, it cannot claim a place equal to those of western Europe ; its chief, we might say its only, glory is the general and successful application of that splendid feature, the cupola.

Yet Byzantine architecture has an historical interest peculiar to itself, as exhibiting the forms assumed by ecclesiastical art among a people separated from the great family of European Christendom. Every other form that we shall have to consider belongs to the system formed by a commingling of the Roman and Teutonic elements. The Byzantine empire derived nothing from the latter source, and little more than a name from the former. It is the only great Christian power that has as yet arisen under similar circumstances ; it possessed therefore a character of its own, distinct from every other, alike in government, literature, and art.

In describing this we must desert the national for the geographical mode of speech. We have not to deal with Greeks or Romans, Celts or Teutons, but with the East. It is a character not marking a single race or creed, but all who chance to fix their abode within a certain extensive portion of the globe. In these lands nations seem to desert their own character and assume that of the soil. In Europe a more marked distinction exists between the Teuton, the Celt, the Slave, almost between the mere national forms of each, than can be found in the East be-

tween the primary divisions of the human race. It is a character fixed, staid, and immutable; it is not Persian or Arabian, not even Caucasian or Mongolian; it is not ancient, modern, or mediæval; but, a term of all ages and races, it is Oriental.

Such an Oriental character the Byzantine empire had from its very beginning; and it became gradually stronger, as its connection with Western Christendom was constantly weakened. At last Byzantium stood by itself, Christian indeed, and locally European, but hardly a member of the system of the European and Christian states; esteemed heretical in faith, and alien in language, government, and general feeling. Of the two stocks of Western Europe, the Teuton appeared only as a foreign guard or a foreign conqueror; Rome contributed the lofty titles of her empire, but could not even communicate her language. The government established by Constantine in the New Rome was the very opposite to that which Romulus was deemed to have founded in the old. Dioclesian had swept away the feeble relics of the old commonwealth; Constantine gave the empire the consistent form of an Oriental despotism. One feature alone is wanting of the courts of Nineveh or Susa; Christianity forbade the open seraglio; but in every other respect the Eastern Cæsar was a counterpart of his Persian antagonist, or his Turkish conqueror. Like him he had viziers, slaves, and eunuchs, holding sovereign and subject alike in thrall. The family feuds, the murderings and blindings of sons and brothers, the perpetual change of the tyrant, without the slightest intermission of the tyranny, the fixed unmoveable character of literature, science, and art, the utter moral and political vacancy of the thousand years of the Byzantine empire, mark it as Roman, as European, in name only, but as in truth one of the countless dynasties which, from the earliest times have risen and fallen in Eastern lands.

Byzantium then founded an architecture of its own—under its peculiar circumstances, it would have been wonderful had it not—and transmitted it to the whole East; but kept and transmitted it unchanged in its most essential forms. On an art so liable to mutations as architecture, fourteen centuries must produce many diversities, even in the East; but the structures reared to this day by the Mahometans in India exhibit far less

deviation from the type of St. Sophia, than exists between the Basilica of St. Clement and the Cathedral of Sarum.

The condition and circumstances of the city founded by Constantine were such as almost inevitably to produce a style of ecclesiastical architecture peculiar to itself. The spot was practically new, for the small provincial town of Byzantium was as nothing in the plan of the vast city designed as the new metropolis of the world; it had none of the political, religious, and artistic associations of the Eternal City; the field was open for the carrying out of a new government, a new religion, a new style of art. The two first would be the result of design, the latter developed by circumstances. The system of government, covertly introduced by Augustus, and fully organized by Dioclesian, could be better carried out in a new and an Eastern city than under the once free sky of Rome; the spirit whose last expiring flashes blazed forth under Arnold of Brescia and Cola di Rienzi, could hardly have been quite extinct while the old republican forms existed. Constantine had in his eye both the facilities which a new position would afford for the full establishment of despotism, and the superior advantages of the Eastern capital in the struggle with the restored power of Persia; and his conduct also was probably further influenced by what Mr. Hope suggests as his only motive, namely "to evade the restraints with which in his old capital, paganism still surrounded his new creed, and to afford Christianity, in his new creation, more room for development."¹ At Byzantium there was no such feeling as at Rome must have induced conformity to the elder form; nor was there the same store of elder edifices which at Rome supplied both materials and models for Christian churches; there were neither basilicas enough to convert unchanged to ecclesiastical uses, nor yet temples whose columns might supply the increasing want of "church accommodation" in the first Christian city. The Byzantine builders were then, in the words of the author just quoted, "disencumbered of the restraints which accompanied the superior resources they could command in Rome;" they were not only at liberty, but were absolutely driven, to find their own materials and their own architecture; and a style arose, which lacks indeed the simplicity and elegance of heathen Greece, the

¹ Page 121.

awful majesty and vastness of mediæval France and England, but which must be allowed to possess in the highest degree a character both original and enduring, vigorous alike in intellectual conception and mechanical execution.¹

The offspring of the arch is the vault; of the vault the cupola; and this majestic ornament is the very life and soul of Byzantine architecture, to which every other feature is subordinate. Its use had hitherto been mainly confined to circular buildings; to make it the central point of a Christian temple was a grand and bold idea, and one which involved a complete revolution in the existing principles of architecture. A vast rotunda of this kind could find no place in the basilica; let it occupy the crossing of the transepts—it has neither due mechanical support, nor can any principle of æsthetics endure its position, when thus thrust to one extremity of the building. It must be the centre, the crowning point of all, to which every other portion of the pile converges, and rests under the shadow of its majestic canopy. The western limb of the basilica is too long, the others too short; its oblong form is therefore rejected, and the church assumes a square or octagonal form; the surrounding portions only radiating around, and supporting the vast central cupola; nave, choir, transepts, chapels, being little more than its supports and accessories, existing only to lift it soaring above them. And not only did the grand cupola crown the whole pile, but the smaller portions are often covered with smaller domes and semi-domes, so as to render the outline of a large Greek church totally unintelligible to one accustomed only to the buildings of the west. The eye habituated to the long naves and triple towers of our own great churches is totally bewildered in contemplating so huge a pile, with apses and semi-domes “sprouting out,” to use the expression of Mr. Hope, in every direction, and all circling round the vast central cupola, swelling its majesty, like tributary rulers encircling an imperial throne. Such was what Frederick Schlegel² calls “that first model of all Christian architecture, the Greek church of St. Sophia;” not surely that later erections did not far

¹ The existence of several Basilican churches in the East only proves the rule by the exception. See Hope, p. 124; Dallaway's Constan-

tinople, p. 302; Bourassé, *Archéologie Chrétienne*, pp. 100, 1.

² *History of Literature*, p. 188.

surpass it in grace and splendour, or that, even among buildings of its own class, its low and spreading covering does not sink into utter insignificance before that matchless glory of domical architecture, the soaring cupola of Florence: but because the style of which it is the type was the first truly Christian architecture that the world had seen. The emblem of our faith, which the basilica half concealed in its comparatively insignificant tribune and chalcidica, is boldly displayed in the four vast arms which, in the most perfect churches of this style, rear the dome on high, hanging, as it were, self-balanced on its centre. All this is the creation of Christian minds; the traces of heathenism remain but in insignificant details; it is the first great tribute which the arts laid at the feet of the Church, the glorious and royal offering of the first of Christian commonwealths.

M. Couchaud, whose work¹ contains the most lucid, though a very brief, account of Byzantine architecture with which I am acquainted, divides the churches of this style into three classes, chronologically arranged; the two first of which will come within our present scope; the third, as having been affected by Western influences, will be more appropriately treated of at a somewhat later stage of the work.

Of the first period, extending from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian, but few examples remain. The churches were at first universally round or octagonal, for which the square form was afterwards substituted. The nave was but little extended in length. Four columns, occupying the centre of the building, served to support the cupola, the use of which is universal. Being raised on a square ground plan, the angles were connected by pendentives, whose ingenious and varied combinations are especially remarkable. The lower part of the dome was pierced with a great number of small openings for light. The extremities of the nave were covered with hemispherical cupolas. The façades are square, without gables, terminated by a cornice of stone or brick, with salient and re-entrant angles. Apses were in use, more usually semicircular than polygonal, and often three in number. Doorways were square-headed, with an arch of construction to relieve the lintel.

¹ *Choix d'Eglises Byzantines en Grèce.* Paris, 1842. His arrangement is followed by Ramée, ii. 81.

The second period of Byzantine architecture extends from the sixth to the eleventh century, and exhibits the improvements introduced into architecture under the patronage of the great Justinian. The domes are now multiplied, and finally occupy the summit even of the porch. Those which belong to the latter part of this period differ from those which precede them, in the circumstance that the arches of the windows which surround them penetrate into the spherical part of the cupola. In many cases, to judge by M. Couchaud's specimens, these domes are not of a very commanding character, being often hardly more than a round central tower with a domical roof. The apses become polygonal; in the interior square piers gradually supplant the use of columns.

The great type of this period, and of the whole Byzantine style, is of course the mighty cathedral dedicated by Justinian to the Divine Wisdom, and which, whatever may have been the errors of its builders, hardly deserves the severe remark of Mr. Hope¹ that it was erected "on a plan in which that of man shone but little." St. Sophia has perhaps had more influence on architecture than any other single building; as the first great example of a central lantern, all styles have borrowed more or less from its example. While it is the direct parent of all the subsequent architecture, Christian and heathen, of the whole eastern world, from Delhi to Moscow, its influence on Western buildings had been equally sure, though less immediate.

"The first attempt," says Dallaway, "to construct a dome of so vast an expanse was unsuccessful; in 558, twenty-one years after the dedication, an earthquake nearly destroyed it. The Emperor Justinian, still reigning, employed another Isidorus, nephew of the former, to repair it. The new architect gave the dome an elevation of twenty feet more than it had before its fall, and changed the originally circular into an elliptical form. In order to give security to it, he set up on the north and south sides four columns of granite, each of a shaft forty feet long. By means of arches he placed a wall on them, and over it six shorter columns; and by this arrangement he destroyed the effect of the Greek cross, by shortening two of its extremities. The piers are encrusted with marble, *but no pilaster is seen in the whole church*,

¹ Page 126.

nor is the slightest attention paid to the rules of ancient architecture. The dome is constructed with so small a curve, that the perpendicular concavity does not exceed one-sixth of the diameter, which measures one hundred and fifteen feet, and one hundred and eighty in the centre above the floor. The flatness, to which many critical objections are made, has, it must be acknowledged, a most imposing effect; and if the great vault of heaven be the idea intended, with a happier imitation than at St. Peter's at Rome. . . . Certain critics allow to the dome of St. Sophia the merit only of superior mechanism. The idea of placing a cupola in the centre of a Greek cross they admire in general, but contend that it was adopted *four centuries too late to have reached its highest perfection.* They remark many *solecisms in the architecture, uncorrected by the Grecian or Roman schools, and that the columns are irregularly disposed, having capitals without style or entablature.* Procopius says that 'such is the lightness of the dome that it appears to be suspended by a chain from heaven.' . . . Beside the grand cupola are two larger and six smaller semi-domes. The whole ground-plan describes the figure of a Greek cross within a quadrangle, but on the inside is oval."¹

Among the smaller examples in M. Couchaud's work, perhaps the most striking are St. Nicodemus at Athens—a fine lofty pile, with a low spreading cupola, no gables, three trigonal apses, and massive piers within—and the Theotocos at Constantinople,² a structure of the ninth or tenth century, which has a magnificent façade, with a domical tower at each end, another over the chief entrance, and some fine open arcades.

The type of the Greek Church is one that appears very singular to western eyes; it presents such an extraordinary union of contending principles; in its ground-plan usually a mere square, flat, same and uniform, it nevertheless preserves the cross form as distinctly as the finest Latin Cathedral. The square is broken up by the four limbs rising above the portions which fill up its angles: these again converge and support the circular cupola crowning the whole. In minor features this principle of cutting up the flat outline is as diligently carried out, curved lines are sought

¹ Dallaway's *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, p. 52.

² Gailhabaud's *Ancient and Modern Architecture*.

for everywhere, till even the outline of the cupola itself becomes interrupted in this manner. The Byzantine style is perhaps the purest offspring of the arch that ever existed, as if in actual opposition to the purely horizontal forms which had once adorned the same regions.¹

As far as I can gather from M. Couchaud's work, and from the few other engravings of Byzantine churches to which I have had access, the minuter forms of the architecture do not differ very materially from the Romanesque of other parts of Europe. The windows, arcades, &c. might be found almost unaltered in any Norman church in England; it is the peculiar system of grouping and arrangement that constitutes the great distinction. The entablature is quite cast away; decorative columns occasionally support a cornice without arches, but the like may occasionally be seen in our own buildings. If in any particular they are less advanced, it is in the doorways, where the square head is often strongly marked; in our own the actual opening is often square-headed, but the arch above is always the predominant feature.

The pillars and arches are far more like Romanesque than Italian. It was before stated that the square pier (which is often decorated with tiers of arches) gradually supplanted the column; even where the latter form is retained, the shafts gradually lose their classical proportions, and settle down into the sturdy pillars of our own Romanesque. This change is one which naturally follows from the real requirements of an arched architecture. In such a style the piers have no separate existence like the Grecian columns; they are simply the piece of masonry between two arches, and can no more be conceived alone than any other part of the walls. The impost of an entablature is a sharp angle where two lines cut one another; that of an arch in its purest form, whether round or pointed, is a gentle and gradual change in direction, the exact turning point of which is hardly to be recognized, unless marked in the decoration. Hence the column, which can never lose its separate existence, is a less proper support for the arch than the rectangular pier; it belongs to another system, and is only tolerable, as possessing in itself a degree of actual grace sufficient to counterbalance a considerable amount of inconsistency. It is from this cause that we find that the most

¹ See Hope, 129.

truly Roman buildings employ the pier and not the column, and that the tendency throughout the Romanesque and Gothic periods has always been to discard the column, and to substitute the pier, moulded indeed in the best examples into graceful forms and enriched with decorative shafts, but still essentially a mass of wall. And in Byzantine, that purely domical architecture, there would be an additional tendency to substitute the pier for the column. The latter can hardly form an appropriate support for cupolas, and the same feeling which led to their importance and multiplication might also be expected to introduce a similar prevalence of their appropriate support. From a like cause, where the column is employed, the classical proportions are soon disregarded. The arch being but a curved entablature, it would seem most natural that its apex should be taken as the determining point. Hence the proportion of column which suits the flat entablature is not adapted to the arch, whose summit is thereby unnaturally stilted. This was perhaps the reason why among the Roman attempts to combine the two forms, the most common device is that of placing an entablature supported by columns of due elevation over an arch rising from piers of lower, and usually very just, proportions. Basilican architecture, in resting its arches on classical columns, sacrificed proportion to consistency. The proportion of a columnar pier which is most in accordance with the rule above stated, and which, I imagine, will be found pretty nearly that of the most satisfactory Romanesque specimens, is attained by diminishing the elevation of the pillar by the height occupied by the curve of the arch. The capitals of these pillars also gradually deserted the earlier models: in St. Sophia they still retain "a poor imitation of the Corinthian and its acanthus; in most Greek buildings they become a still poorer squared block, with unmeaning scroll or bracket work."¹

The arches in the Byzantine style do not by any means adhere so closely to the pure semicircular form as in the Basilican. The stilted arch is common, the horse-shoe not unfrequent, and even the pointed arch appears in many cases as an isolated detail, though never influencing the general style of the building.

It were greatly to be wished that the architecture of Byzantium, so important in itself, and still more so in its influence

¹ Hope, 135.

upon that of other nations, were made more known to us, and the labours of M. Couchaud followed up by the publication of a greater number of examples. But unfortunately the great majority of those who investigate what is called "classic ground" devote their whole attention to the remains of heathen antiquity, to the utter exclusion of monuments which are of the highest importance in architectural history, and which may in many cases have been the actual seat of some of the most renowned fathers of the Church. The way in which the Christian relics of the east are overlooked by most of our tourists and antiquaries makes one almost inclined to exclaim,

" Let others sing thy heathen praise,
 Fallen Greece, the thought of holier days
 In my sad heart abides ;
 For sons of thine, in Truth's first hour,
 Were tongues and weapons of His power,
 Born of the Spirit's fiery shower,
 Our fathers and our guides."¹

The associations which bind us to the early Eastern Church, the names of her great Bishops and Doctors, seem to be held as nothing compared with the smallest fragment of worn-out heathendom. This exclusive care for what is pagan is at once a mark of an irreligious tendency, and of a forgetfulness of the real nature and value of art. A broken capital or a shivered bull's head is disinterred, and preserved with reverential care ; while examples which might throw light on some of the most important questions in the whole history of architecture, and thereby in the philosophy of the human mind, are passed by unnoticed, or alluded to with a sneer. An author to whom the present writer, as well as all interested in these subjects, is most deeply indebted for his discoveries in a new and untrodden field of heathen antiquity, can thus express himself with regard to remains whose sacred character has a claim upon our reverence, and which belong to a style of art which has produced the majesty of St. Sophia, the graceful outline of the Theotocos, and the varied wonders of St. Mark's. " How much it is to be regretted that the introduction of a divine religion should have unnecessarily put to flight all the divinity of

¹ *Lyra Apostolica.*

art. The language of Demetrius of Ephesus was prophetic. In architecture and in sculpture, the cross is a brand always attended by deformity in proportion and total want of simplicity in ornament."¹ Yet this very brand has itself produced nobler forms of outline than Ictinus and Callicrates could bestow on their most sumptuous works, its spreading arms rear aloft the airy steeple of Sarum and the mighty lantern of Worms; it once was lifted in triumph over the gorgeous cupola of St. Sophia, and still it soars, far above shaft, and architrave, and pediment, on the matchless dome of Florence, and the heaven-bound spires of Freyburg and Vienna.

CHAPTER VI.

DIRECT INFLUENCE OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE IN ITALY.

IN future chapters we shall have to trace the gradual and less direct influence of Oriental architecture upon the structures of Italy and other western countries. I will now mention a few examples in which there is reason to believe that Grecian architects were employed, or direct imitation of Grecian buildings intended. The pure style of the east must not be looked for; in all, with perhaps one exception, we shall trace more or less of the contemporary forms which prevailed in more strictly Italian structures, so that chronological and artistic propriety is somewhat violated by throwing them together here. Still, as they cannot be called pure examples of any other style, it appears most natural to place them as an appendix to the last chapter.

At Ravenna is the Chapel of St. Nazario and St. Celso, erected in the fifth century as a sepulchral chapel by Galla Placidia, a pleasing specimen in itself, and remarkable, as Mr. Knight observes, for containing "the only tombs which remain in their places of the whole line of Cæsars, whether oriental or occidental." It is not a pure Greek cross,² the western limb being double the length of the others; there are no aisles, and the four arms support a cupola.

¹ Fellows' *Asia Minor*, p. 169.

² Webb, p. 428.

Far more decidedly Byzantine is the noble Church of St. Vital in the same city, consecrated in A.D. 547, in the presence of the Emperor Justinian. This is perhaps the most completely oriental building in western Europe, and may be taken as the best existing specimen of the octagonal churches erected during the first period of Byzantine art. Eight arches on rectangular piers support the clerestory. The roof is a magnificent cupola, with a low external cone. Round the arcade are a succession of small apses, divided,¹ after the Oriental manner, into galleries supported by columns of a completely Byzantine character.

St. Fosca, at Torcello, in the Venetian territory, belongs to the second period of Byzantine architecture. It is in the form of a Greek cross, but with the eastern limb prolonged, so as to form a complete chancel with aisles and three apses. The central dome is very plain externally, and covered with a cone. It is difficult to recognize at first the true plan of this church, by reason of an octagonal portico—a development of the narthex—surrounding it on all sides except the east. This is formed of pillars, most of whose capitals have the square block and low carving of the Byzantine school, and support stilted arches.

The magnificent cathedral of St. Mark at Venice, commenced at the end of the tenth century, can hardly be referred to any one style; without, its perfectly anomalous, though gorgeous, façade, in its pointed arches and pinnacles seems to forestall the Gothic age; within are the noble basilican columns and arches; but above all soar conspicuous the five cupolas, placed over the intersection of the Greek cross, and over each of the four great limbs. Such a form is completely Byzantine, and as it is certain that Grecian architects and Grecian materials were employed to a great extent, we cannot fail to acknowledge a strong Oriental influence. The domes of St. Mark's are however very different from that of St. Sophia, and, if we may not actually refer them to a Saracenic origin, we must allow the Western Christian and the Eastern infidel to have developed in the same path from the common Byzantine source. The external domes of wood covered with lead, rise to a vast height, and assume a fantastic and bulbous outline, approaching to those which we shall soon have to trace among the Mahometan nations. Developments of the

¹ See Mr. Webb's plan, p. 435.

same great principle, they are totally different either from the spreading cupola of St. Sophia, the domical towers of the Theotocos and the pointed dome of Florence.

The cathedral of St. Ciriacus at Ancona, erected in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, might be fairly expected to possess much Byzantine character, as that city was the last possession retained in Italy by the Emperors of the East. It is in the shape of a Greek cross, so far at least as that the arms are equal, but it has not the squareness of the genuine Byzantine church; the arms are longer than usual, and their angles not filled up. They are also treated quite on the Latin method, with low roofs, gables, a genuine clerestory and aisles; there are no smaller cupolas or conchs. In short, none of the genuine Eastern peculiarities appear; it is merely a Latin church with an unusually short nave, and a central dome, and therefore hardly answers the description of Mr. Knight, that "it is Greek in all its parts." The dome is not the one commanding feature, but only a central lantern assuming that form.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ROMANESQUE OF ITALY OR LOMBARD STYLE.

JUSTINIAN the Great destroyed the Gothic kingdom in Italy, and set his restored dominions the example of a new, and in many respects excellent, style of architecture. He was hardly in his grave before a new race of conquerors came to overthrow his political institutions, and to give Italian architecture yet another and a more perfect form. These were the Lombards, who in A.D. 568, five years after the death of that famous emperor, crossed the great Alpine barrier, and remained possessed of the greater part of the peninsula for two centuries, till the empire of the West rose with renewed splendour in the person of the first Teutonic Cæsar, the ever-memorable Charlemagne.

As before under the rule of Theodoric and his Goths, (though the Lombards were a race in every respect inferior to that noble people,) there can be no doubt that Italy, could she have recon-

ciled herself to the idea of a barbarian sovereign, might have enjoyed far more real happiness under the royal house of Alboin than the turbulent, unsettled days of her own later emperors had ever afforded. And when the Lombard kings, to vigour in war and just government in peace, added, under their fourth prince Agilulfus and his famous wife Theodolinda, an adhesion to the orthodox faith, a new era in ecclesiastical architecture could hardly fail to arise, and the glimpse of Teutonic vigour given under the brief empire of the Goths became a brighter and more enduring day under the more lasting power of the Lombards.

"The Lombards," says Mr. Knight, "had no architecture of their own; they imported no architects from the north; they employed the architects and masons of the conquered country; and, if they required them to introduce any thing which was not of Italian growth, it was only in details. The style was still an imitation of the Roman, though, by this time, it had assumed some new features." That is, they inspired new life into the dying embers, and added harmony to the yet disjointed parts; Basilican and Byzantine architecture each contributed its choicest beauties to form a style, which in Italy itself produced far from despicable fruits, and gave birth to a yet more glorious offspring in the wondrous churches of Rhenish Germany.

The chief characteristics of Lombard architecture are the new forms given to the pillars, and their more extended application as decorative features; a new style of sculpture; a more extended use of vaulting; an entirely new ground-plan and outline of churches; and finally, by no means the least important innovation, the introduction of steeples or belfries.

The classical proportions of the column are disregarded, and pillars are now met with of any length required by their position; those which act as piers are shorter than the Roman models, while purely decorative ones are prolonged to an indefinite length, becoming mere slender stalks.¹ In the interior of churches, piers formed of clustered columns are often introduced; these of course exhibit both these processes; the whole pier being lower, while each separate shaft is frequently longer, than was allowed by classical precedent. The capitals are sometimes

¹ See Möller's German Architecture, p. 26, English translation.

imitations of the antique, but are more commonly blocks covered with imagery of various kinds ; representations of grotesque monsters, of scriptural scenes, sometimes of devices apparently derived from the northern mythology. Decorative shafts, as those of doorways and of ornamental arcades, not unfrequently rest upon the backs of monsters.

These ornamental arcades are perhaps the greatest of the improvements introduced by the Lombard architects. Hitherto the exterior of the Basilica had been bare and unsightly ; the incongruous Grecian ornaments had been rejected, but no consistent system substituted. The Lombards carried out to a great extent the idea which had already appeared in the palace of Theodoric, and applying the great constructive features as a source of decoration, covered the exterior of their richer buildings with an infinity of small arcades resting on ornamental shafts of various forms and proportions. In many cases these are detached, and form actual galleries, but they are often merely decorative enrichments of a blank surface. This latter class might at first sight appear open to the same objection as the sham columns, pediments, and porticoes of Roman and modern Italian. But in truth the great fault of the latter is, not that they are merely ornamental, but that they are of such an importance in the general effect as to look like the main features of the building, and so are really deceptive. This fault is shared by some of the Byzantine churches in M. Couchaud's work, which exhibit ornamental arcades on so large a scale as to look like a constructive portion walled up. But when the ornamental features are at once seen to be intended for ornament and nothing more, and do not in any way mask the real construction, no way of relieving a blank wall can be more appropriate than this ornamental imitation of the constructive members.

The number, richness, and variety of these arcades with which the Lombard architects decorated their sumptuous churches is perfectly astonishing. A whole façade is sometimes covered with row upon row, enriched with an infinity of sculptured ornament, and resting on shafts, single or double, detached or engaged, plain, fluted, twisted, as suited the taste and caprice of the designer. The eaves, and often the stringcourses marking the stages of the building, rest commonly on small arcades

or corbel-tables without shafts, but among which ever and anon there shoots up from the ground, now a flat broad pilaster, now a tapering reed-like shaft, to bear a part in their decorative support, and to break the uniformity of the front by dividing it into narrow vertical compartments. Now and then, as in the baptistery at Parma, instead of arcades, rows of small shafts support the strings of the different stages after the manner of an entablature.

The arch is commonly round, in pier-arches perhaps universally so, and the flatness of the broad soffit begins occasionally to be relieved, not by mere flat panelling or painting, but by making the arch of two orders, which alone takes off greatly from its uniformity, and affords a great contrast of light and shade. In the vaulting, pointed arches occur at a very early period; and in decorative arcades sometimes the straight-sided arch. The horse-shoe and stilted arches are not unknown, as well as that curious form, half-arch, half-entablature, with a flat head, and shoulders bowing outwards. But the common semicircular arch is decidedly the arch of the style, and is generally used in the more important features of construction.

The Lombard builders seem absolutely to have revelled in the use of sculpture in every form. The outside of the church is loaded with imagery; saints, founders, scenes of history or legend, are strangely intermixed with all the strange beasts of the natural creation, and others passing any that Herodotus¹ records as infesting the Libyan desert, not only lions, peacocks, serpents, but sphinxes, griffins, chimæras, *καὶ οἱ ἀγριοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἀγριοί, καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθει πολλὰ θηρία κατὰψευστα*. These are found both independently, and as bas-reliefs on walls, capitals, and wherever else a void space was found to receive them. And not only doorways, but windows, strings, abaci, are loaded with numberless varieties of surface ornament, as medallions, foliage, chevrons; all of that kind which marks no particular style, but seems in its general character, and often in its actual details, to belong to a particular stage of almost all.

The Lombard windows are generally small, narrow, round-headed openings, placed either singly, or in combination; but the

¹ IV. 191.

genuine triplet with the higher central light seems hardly to be found in Italy. Their jambs and archivolts are often richly ornamented with the small shafts and other decorations of the style. But large wheel-windows are common in the west fronts of churches, perhaps, as Mr. Hope suggests, to represent the setting sun. They present of course the simplest form of this kind of window, that of "spokes radiating from a centre, connected at their extremities by arches."¹

The doorways are perhaps, of single features, the most remarkable instance of the improvements effected by the architects of this period. We have seen how the square portal with an arch of construction over it burst forth, in the palace of Theodoric, into a real round-headed doorway; but this was a very rude example, and in this respect the Byzantine builders effected but little, as they still made the square opening predominant. But the Lombards, while they retained the square opening, (probably because the semicircular stone, called the tympanum, afforded such an opportunity for sculpture) made the arch the conspicuous feature. It now stands boldly forward as a gradually receding arch of many orders, each adorned with all the gorgeous decorations of the style, and resting on shafts often themselves greatly enriched. They greatly resemble our own Norman doorways, but are of more lofty proportion; and of the forms of ornament common to both the Norman specimens have a greater tendency to mere surface ornament, the Lombard to bas-reliefs, in the decorations of the receding arches and jambs. Some doorways, as the magnificent example at St. Zeno, Verona, retain much more of classical character, the square portion being strongly marked, and the arch made to form a sort of canopy supported by two detached columns. In the eleventh century, according to Mr. Knight, porches in our modern sense, as opposed to the ancient narthex, were introduced into Lombard architecture.

The sturdy piers of the Lombard churches were able to bear a greater weight than could be supported on the slender columns of the Basilicas; hence stone vaulting was resumed, but though decidedly a characteristic of the style, it occurs only just often enough to show that it is so. Many of the finest Italian churches of this

¹ Page 267.

time are covered with wooden roofs, but they are often flat, or otherwise panelled, ceilings instead of the barn-like frames of the old Basilicas. The first form of the stone roof was plain barrel-vaulting; afterwards cross-vaulting with groined ribs was introduced. These roofs, often supported by tall shafts rising directly from the ground, would alone assign to the Lombard churches a great superiority in internal effect over their Basilican predecessors.

The ground-plan ordinarily combines the Basilican and Byzantine forms, engrafting the central dome of the latter on the long nave of the former. The shape of the Latin cross is completely carried out; four arms, of which the western is considerably the longest, meet and support a variety of the dome more suited than that of St. Sophia to the general proportions of the church. The commonest form is an octagon reared on a square base, which forms an internal dome, but has in most instances merely a conical roof without. The actual external dome is sacrificed, and that with good judgment, as the length of the nave precludes it from that overwhelming predominance over the whole building which alone can give it a good effect. The Lombard octagon is not the whole soul of the building, for the sake of which alone every other part exists; it is but one feature among many, though by far the most conspicuous and commanding one. Still, as the base is square, a great width in the four arms is required to give the lantern its due prominence; hence the Lombard churches are precluded from that predominance of height over the other proportions which adds so much majesty to even the Romanesque, and much more the Gothic, structures of other lands.

At the east end is an apse, sometimes three apses, which are generally semicircular; they are distinct buildings, inferior in height and breadth to the chancels to which they are attached. A gallery of open arches often runs round the upper part, which is frequently a predominant, as it is always a very beautiful, feature.

The triple elevation of the nave is more distinctly marked than in the Basilicas, but is not always fully developed. Sometimes, as in the two noble churches of St. Michael at Pavia and St. Ambrose at Milan, there is no clerestory, but only a trifo-

rium-gallery over the arcade; in others, as in St. Zeno¹ at Verona, there is a clerestory, but the space which should be occupied by the triforium is left quite blank, to the great disfigurement of the building. Perhaps that feature was only introduced when it was designed for actual use as a gallery.

The roofs are low; hence the churches have no prominent gables, and buttresses and pinnacles being hardly in use, and the towers not being integral parts of the building, the façades are flat, and the whole outline not very marked or varied. Still the more complete development of the cross form, and especially the central lantern, give these churches a very great superiority over the basilicas, even without taking into consideration the gorgeous details. The west fronts are generally much laboured and decorated, but, from the want of projection, they are not very pleasing as compositions. When there is no clerestory, and a single low gable includes both nave and aisles, the effect is still less satisfactory.

The round or octagonal nave, with a projecting chancel, is a form far from uncommon; some noble examples are given by Mr. Knight; amongst which the Cathedral of Brescia is remarkable for a majestic boldness of design.

But the feature for the introduction of which the Lombard architects, great as were their excellencies in other respects, most deserve the gratitude of posterity, is undoubtedly that noble addition to a Christian temple, the campanile, bell-tower, or steeple. They do not indeed seem to have developed all the capabilities which even their own style of architecture allowed, much less those additional ones which it received when the splendid inventions of Gothic art were brought to bear upon it. Still the introduction of so striking and characteristic a feature in any form was a very great step. It is one which owes its origin to Christianity; a campanile was never attached to an idol-temple, and is equally forbidden at this day to the proudest mosques of the false prophet. It is to Christian worship alone that the joyful sound of bells gathers the multitude of the faithful; it is therefore to Christian temples only that the lofty towers

¹ For an account of this extraordinary church, remarkable for the vast independent arches spanning the nave, see Webb, p. 252.

are attached which rear them on high to convey their clear voice more distinctly and uninterruptedly. The use of bells involved that of belfries as a matter of necessity: having thus its origin in real use, and no classical models existing to mislead the architects, the belfry, unlike most other features, rose at once, not indeed to its full perfection, but to a very considerable degree of excellence. Indeed there is no kind of edifice on which more care was bestowed throughout the Romanesque and Gothic periods, or in which the respective peculiarities and beauties of the successive styles are more clearly marked. It is not merely in details that this is shown, but every period, every country, almost every district, has its own peculiar form of steeple, and that, in nearly every case, its most beautiful and most distinguishing feature.

The Lombard campanile usually stands apart from the church, or is at least merely connected with it as an adjunct, not an integral part; it never rises from the crossing, or forms the central compartment of a façade. Even flanking towers to a front, as at St. Ambrose, are rare. It is ordinarily square—that of Pisa and those at Ravenna, which are round, being the principal exceptions—and always tall, thin, and unbroken by buttresses. These characteristics are common to all, but many, especially local, peculiarities, may be observed among them. They are usually covered with a pyramidal capping, which sometimes swells into a low quadrangular spire; octagonal stages crowned with spires are often found, but are in many cases later additions. It is an invariable rule, with the single exception of that at Pisa, that the “quantity of decoration and aperture is increased in the upper part;” sometimes the only windows of any importance are quite at the top; in others each stage has a window, or a row of three or four united by shafts, or sometimes two distinct pairs in a stage.

This style, which is rightly called Lombard, was one of very long duration in Italy; the shortest computation would reckon from the Lombard invasion till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the forms, though not the spirit, of Gothic architecture were partially introduced into Italy.

During this long period Mr. Knight makes three epochs. The first extends from the invasion of the Lombards till the

extinction of their dynasty by Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century. During this time the Lombard style, as it has been above described, became predominant in many parts of Italy. The chief exception is Rome, where there is but one actually Lombard church, that of St. John and St. Paul,¹ though campaniles of that style were added to many of her existing ones. Of this period are numerous churches at Pavia, the seat of the Lombard kings, and other cities of northern Italy. Of those given by Mr. Knight, St. Michael at Pavia² is perhaps the most striking cruciform specimen; the cathedral of Brescia, and St. Julia in the same city, of the round and octagonal respectively.

The ninth and tenth centuries may be considered as continuations of this period, but the state of Italy was not such as to allow of much attention to the arts, and consequently there is a positive dearth of churches of this date. The chief structure of this period is St. Ambrose at Milan, completed before 861, which has been already alluded to, and which is farther remarkable as retaining the atrium or cortile before its west front, a noble cloister of the purest Lombard architecture.

The second period comprises the eleventh century, during which, especially at Florence and more to the south, there was a considerable return to the antique. "There and then," says Mr. Knight, "a return to good taste evinced itself in a return to greater simplicity. The grotesque images and crowded ornaments were rejected. Single pillars, instead of piers, again made their appearance, and capitals that sought to imitate the capitals of better times." This, which of course, with our view of the subject, is in every respect a retrogression, extended itself in some degree to northern Italy also, and for a while obscured, though by no means obliterated, the genuine Lombard style. "The pillars," says the same author, "were less stunted; the wild and monstrous imagery, if not altogether discarded, was kept within bounds. In some instances the dragons and the demons gave way to groups of figures in low relief, that attempted something more in the Roman way." In the same

¹ See Webb, 511.

² "A church of extreme interest. Mr. Gally Knight considers it to be

of the seventh century. I should have fixed a much later date." Ditto, 227.

century a custom commenced of decorating the exterior of churches with courses of stone or marble of different colours.

The glory of this form of Italian architecture is that from which Professor Willis¹ seems to have given a name to the style, the cathedral of Pisa, erected by Busketus, between 1063 and 1113; though the rich western façade, probably the last finish to the building, belongs rather to the next period. Its architecture is a mixture of classical and Lombard forms; the tall Corinthian columns, many of them antique, support plain round arches, above which is a string so prominent and so evidently copied from the antique, as almost to deserve the name of an entablature. Above is a triforium, and a clerestory; with a blank space awkwardly intervening between them, and not even relieved by a string. The proportionate height is much greater than usual, almost forestalling the Gothic of the north; the roof is a flat ceiling. "There is no large west window in the Pisan style, but merely small round-headed lights, like those in the west of the church."²

The third epoch of Lombard architecture includes the twelfth century, and beginning of the thirteenth. This style Mr. Knight calls the Florid Lombard, its chief characteristic being "external decoration carried to excess." The fronts are either overloaded with arcades, frequently as detached galleries, to a prodigious extent, or, with an equal amount of decoration, have fine wheel-windows. "The use of brick was very generally resumed, but the bricks alternated with stone or marble, and the walls continued to exhibit stripes of different colours." The campaniles were generally of this material. Of the many rich façades of the kind, St. Michael at Lucca may be cited as one of the most admirable. The two fine baptisteries of Pisa and Parma are also mainly of this period, though finished in the Italian Gothic. And the grand campanile at Pisa, the famous leaning tower, commenced in 1174, must not be omitted; it is round, covered with arcades, and crowned with a small circular lantern.

Such is a rapid view of the Romanesque of Italy, certainly one of the most interesting pages in the history of architecture. We learn from it how readily a consistent and beautiful form might

¹ Architecture of the Middle Ages, p. 26.

² Webb, 354.

be wrought out of the classical elements ; the Byzantines were the bolder innovators, the Lombards the more diligent developers. Still, besides the ever-recurring stumbling-block of classicality, the style has not reached perfection ; even within, the parts are not well arranged and harmonized, and amid all its gorgeousness of decoration, there is extreme flatness and poverty of external outline. We shall now have to trace its rapid and wonderful improvement when transplanted to a more genial soil, where the great race who were to develop all the most glorious forms of Christian architecture, were not only politically dominant, but dwelling in their own land, cradled among the free institutions and chivalrous associations of the North.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ROMANESQUE OF GERMANY.

AMIDST all the confusions which immediately followed the overthrow of the old Western Empire, while the city of Rome itself had utterly fallen to decay, and the name of Roman was a by-word of contempt among the Lombard lords of Italy ; still the prestige of a thousand years of glory, the wide-spread influence of her laws and language, the power, mightier than that of her Cæsars, which gradually gathered round her as she became the ecclesiastical centre of Christendom, all combined to keep up the remembrance of the Eternal City and of the universal empire of which she had been the head. Hence, when Charles, truly called the Great, conceived the vast idea of restoring that empire, not amidst the ruins of the worn-out system, the shadowy relics of classic heathendom, but with all the stability that Northern vigour and a thoroughly Christian basis could bestow,—when in conformity with this glorious conception, the first Teutonic, we may almost add the first Christian, Cæsar of the West received his imperial crown from the hands of the common Father of Christendom, it was not felt as an aggression or an usurpation ; the three ages during which Italy had seen no Emperor were held as a mere blank, an interruption of settled

order ; the Roman Empire was again revived, not indeed on its old heathen and classic foundation, but on the more holy and more glorious basis of Christian brotherhood and Northern freedom.

This mighty conception was indeed never fully realized, or only in the person of Charlemagne himself ; his Frank successors inherited not even his warlike vigour, far less that capacious mind with which he held together the various elements of his great political and religious creation. The idea however long survived him, and was the animating spirit of those illustrious Emperors of the Saxon race, who were, in the words of the great writer quoted in a former chapter, "princes distinguished for their religious and virtuous sentiments, their great and upright character, and whose reigns, exhibiting as they do the paramount influence of religion on public life, constitute the happiest era, and the truly golden period of the annals of Germany."¹

Whether there are any considerable existing monuments of the Carlovingian period, or of any other anterior to that of the Saxon Emperors, is very doubtful ; and indeed many well versed in the antiquities of Germany hold that even of their days we have little more than few and uncertain remains. Thus the dates in the tenth and eleventh centuries usually assigned to the great Rhenish cathedrals are controverted, and with every appearance of probability, by M. de Lassaulx,² who looks on them as being for the most part at least a century later, and as belonging to the last days of Romanesque. We know the prevalent tendency to make out every building as old as possible, and to assign to an existing structure the date of the first that has occupied its site. And that the style of these magnificent churches is the latest form of Romanesque which prevailed in Germany is certain, as it is that on which the Gothic elements are engrafted in the period of Transition. One considerable fragment only remains to bear witness to the state of art under the mighty Charlemagne himself. The vestibule of the Abbey of Lorsch is usually considered to be of a date as early as 774, a view confirmed by the eminent authority of Möller. Its style exhibits several pecu-

¹ Schlegel, *Philosophy of History*, p. 349. See also pp. 339, 47.

² In the remarks appended to Dr. Whewell's *German Churches*.

liarities, which at once distinguish it from later buildings, and connect it with the classical Roman on the one hand and with our own Anglo-Saxon on the other. Of its two arcades, the lower has round arches rising from piers with Corinthian columns attached, and supporting a kind of entablature; the upper, straight-sided arches on Ionic pilasters. But this structure stands alone, and we are hardly justified in inferring from a single edifice what was the state of the art at any period. We know not what other buildings of the Carolingian, or even of the Saxon, era were; but the existing style is one so replete with Lombard and Byzantine elements, such as were introduced by the earlier Emperors, that it can hardly have differed essentially from that in which they built. The existing buildings may have supplanted earlier buildings, but the existing style can hardly have supplanted an earlier style. It may however have developed some of its features in greater perfection, as can hardly fail to have been the case with the varied and wonderful outlines of these sumptuous piles.

The first origin of the German Romanesque is in all probability to be sought for in Italy. "It is impossible not to see," says Mr. Knight, "in the Lombard churches of Pavia, the originals of the churches on the Rhine. The Lombard style was introduced into the Rhenish provinces by the Carolingian sovereigns of Italy, who resided at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rhine, and who, passing sometime, as they frequently did, at Pavia, could not fail to remark the churches with which it had been enriched by the Lombard kings." But though the Lombard style supplied the chief element, a rival one was also at work. Charlemagne was closely connected with the court of Byzantium; he is even said to have employed Grecian workmen on the cathedral church of his capital.¹ Nor did this Oriental influence cease with his race. "Under the dynasty of the Saxon Cæsars," says Frederick Schlegel,² "who were perpetually connected by marriages with the court of Constantinople, the north of Germany was adorned with a profusion of beautiful churches, all more or less in imitation of that first model of all Christian architecture, the Greek church of St. Sophia." Though this expression may perhaps

¹ See Ramée, ii. 129.

² Hist. Lit. 188.

be too strong, there can be no doubt that Byzantine art exercised a considerable influence on the German Romanesque, so much so that Mr. Hope could say,¹ "that on beholding the east end of the Apostles' Church at Cologne, immediately on entering its ancient gates, I almost thought myself at Constantinople."

The German Romanesque seems to borrow from the Lombard its general style and arrangement, though worked more free from classical elements; the cupolas also retain much of the Lombard character, though with somewhat of a Byzantine tinge. In the general employment of vaulting, and the tendency to square piers, it resembles the latter style; but the grouping of its towers, spires, and domes, producing a beauty and variety of outline surpassed by no age or country, are purely its own.

The towers, which in Italy stood alone apart from the church, are now made an essential part of the fabric, and indeed become its most conspicuous features. Architects seem to have vied with each other in introducing these beautiful appendages in the greatest number and variety; of every size and shape, square, round, octagonal; with every variety of capping, from the low pyramidal roof to the lofty spire; they flank every front, and fill up every angle of the larger buildings. We should remember that many of these churches present what to us appears the anomaly of double choirs, and consequently double apses; each being commonly flanked by towers. The towers sometimes have octagonal spires of wood with dripping eaves; sometimes they are gabled over each side, sometimes covered with a cupola, which again is sometimes gabled. The gables in such positions are remarked by Dr. Whewell as being of lower pitch, and having the cornice beneath them more strongly marked, in the pure Romanesque than in the Transition. The large churches are usually cruciform, with long naves and short choirs; an octagonal lantern occupies the crossing, rising immediately from the roof without any square base; two tall towers occupy the angles of the choir and transepts, flanking the eastern apse, and grouping with, and as it were supporting, the central lantern. The west end has sometimes a single tower in the centre, sometimes two flanking towers; sometimes, especially where there is a western

¹ Page 143.

apse, the arrangement of the east end is repeated, a second transept appearing, with another octagon of more slender and lofty proportions in the centre, and smaller turrets at the ends. The grouping of these numerous steeples comes out in all its glory in the three great Romanesque cathedrals of Spire, Worms, and Mentz, and the abbey church of Laach. Sometimes, as at Arnstein Abbey, the church is not cruciform, but has an eastern and western pair of towers. In all cases the general rule seems to be that the eastern pair should be the more conspicuous in size and height. The towers are usually very much enriched with arcading; the east end of Bonn Cathedral is certainly the most graceful and magnificent specimen of this and the other beauties of this glorious style with which the engravings and descriptions of my authorities have made me acquainted.

Many churches however, especially those of smaller size, and apparently later in the style, have not this complexity of outline which, as Dr. Whewell remarks,¹ "was not imitated by the architects of the Transition style." They have often only a single square tower over the intersection, with a low capping or spire; it is usually low and massive, but sometimes, as at Schwartz Rheindorf, tower and spire shoot up to a prodigious elevation, and attain an outline perfectly Gothic. The square tower at the crossing is manifestly the legitimate successor of the dome and the central octagon, though, as architecture advances, it approaches more and more to the form and use of a campanile. The low central towers of our own Romanesque churches were originally mere lanterns, the whole elevation being greatly enriched, and left open to the church; they are the dome in another form. Numberless are the instances in which they have been blocked off and converted into belfries long after their erection. A remarkable instance of the connection between the dome and the central tower is to be found in the church of St. Sulpice, near Lausanne, mentioned by Mr. Petit.²

The round or octagonal form of churches, was, as well as the cruciform, introduced into Germany by Charles the Great. He adorned his imperial residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, with a magnificent cathedral of that form, and though this was destroyed³ or

¹ German Churches, p. 97.

² I. 75.

³ Hope, 350; Ramée, ii. 128.

desecrated by the Northmen, and afterwards rebuilt by Otho III., about 983, and though it has received many later alterations, we may fain hope that the general mass represents with tolerable faithfulness the original structure of the great Emperor. It consists of a circular aisle around an octagonal centre forming a clerestory, roofed with a high cupola of the same form surrounded with gables.

The roofs and gables are generally high, compared at least with those of Italy, though they by no means invariably follow the equilateral canon, the two sides often having no sharper inclination than a right angle.

The apse is a very prevalent feature ; it is usually semicircular, though, as the style advances towards the Transition, the polygonal form begins to be introduced. Indeed the German architects seem to have taken quite as much delight in the varied grouping of apses as in that of towers. They are not only introduced at both ends of a large church, according to the extraordinary arrangement mentioned above, but are often attached both to the fronts and to the eastern faces of the transepts. The latter position, which is by no means unknown to our own Norman, is a vestige of the triapsal termination of the basilicas ; for the German choirs are so short, and the angles so filled in with towers, that there can scarcely be genuine chancel aisles at the ends of which the arrangement might be introduced. During the period of pure Romanesque the apse was always a distinct part of the church, attached to a front, but inferior in height and width. St. Martin's at Cologne has¹ no proper chancel or transepts, but gabled projections only just sufficient for the three apses to be attached to them and not to the actual faces of the tower. The cathedral of Worms is remarkable for its polygonal western apse, approaching to the Transition, and the singularity of its east end, which is flat without and apsidal within.

The character of the interior is very much influenced by the use of vaulted roofs, with which most of the greater buildings are now covered, though the flat timber ceiling is by no means excluded, even from churches of great size and importance. The subject of vaults has been almost exhausted by Dr. Whewell,

¹ Webb, 46. See Petit, ii. 48, 207.

and the different forms in use in the buildings we are now considering carefully explained. In the purest Romanesque specimens both the nave and aisles have ordinary Roman vaulting; but in order to preserve the square form, which was thought necessary while the round arch was employed, the nave is made exactly double the width of the aisles, so that each bay of the roof answers to two pier-arches, and is just double the size of a bay of the aisle. This difficulty is avoided by the use of the pointed arch, which accordingly appears in the vaulting when no transitional features occur elsewhere; yet it is very remarkable that in the two great cathedrals of Worms and Mentz, which have pointed vaulting, the arrangement just mentioned is retained, although no longer necessary; a fact which must be considered as militating to some extent against the theory so ingeniously and elaborately drawn out by Dr. Whewell.

The vault, to be really part of the whole design, connected in the decorative construction with the rest of the fabric, must spring from shafts rising from the ground. This is usually the case, except where stalls would have interfered, when the shafts often rise from brackets. It is manifest that, with the vaulting arrangements just mentioned, the shafts must necessarily influence the character of the alternate piers. Those to which the vaulting-shafts are attached, called by Dr. Whewell the *principal* piers, must of course be larger and of a different section from the *intermediate* ones, which simply support their own arches without any connection with the roof. The pier most usually employed is a rectangular mass with imposts, to which the shafts or pilasters which support the vaulting are attached; and which exhibits, as is natural, a great variety of forms. The intermediate piers also assume divers shapes; sometimes they are left quite square and plain, sometimes shafts are attached, which run up to the triforium and clerestory, or support the pier arches.

But though the square pier is that most characteristic of the style, and which distinguishes it both from Lombard and Norman Romanesque, it must not be supposed that columns are at all excluded. In churches which are not vaulted, they are especially common, and they occur also as intermediate piers in vaulted churches. On the other hand the square pier is found

in some of those which have flat roofs. St. James at Ratisbon,¹ a fine example of this latter class, has both kinds in different parts of the church; the pillars are tall, with very rich capitals; at Schwartz-Rheindorf² are columns approaching still nearer to classical proportions. These, according to Dr. Whewell,³ are usually observed to some extent in the earlier specimens, where we sometimes even find "a classical diminution of diameter upwards."

The capitals are often of the cushion form, probably as the same author supposes, an imitation of the Grecian Doric; these may be either left plain, or enriched with carving. Other capitals have very beautiful foliage, often approaching to the Corinthian type. The heavy abacus is frequently richly moulded and carved.

The triforium is by no means a necessary feature even in great churches, nor very conspicuous when it occurs. Not being used as a gallery, it appears to have been omitted, or treated as a subordinate feature. In the splendid Abbey of Laach the space between the pier arch and the clerestory is left quite bare, and even in the three great Cathedrals of Worms, Mentz, and Spire, the triforium is not at all important or dignified. Towards the Transition, this part of the church becomes more ornamented, as in some of the churches of Cologne.

The peculiar arrangement which groups two bays under one vaulting arch has, in some instances, the effect of ranging the clerestory windows in pairs. They are usually small and round-headed, as are all the windows during the prevalence of pure Romanesque.

There is the same tendency in the German as in the Lombard Romanesque to enrich the external surface with arcades and pillars. The bays are often divided by flat pilaster-strips, or more rarely by shafts, running into the corbel-table. The blank arcades sometimes rest on pilaster-strips, but more commonly on shafts; sometimes again, as at St. James, Ratisbon, on figures like the Greek caryatides; the arch is usually semicircular, but sometimes of the round-head trefoil form. As in Lombardy, small shafts are not uncommonly found sup-

¹ Webb, 124.

² Petit, i. 87.

³ Page 104.

porting strings without any arches, a manifest vestige of the entablature system.

This style of decoration is not however confined to blank arcades, but the open gallery of the Lombards is retained ; in one position indeed, namely when circulating immediately under the roof of the apse, it forms one of the most beautiful and characteristic features of the German Romanesque. The shafts are usually set two deep, an arrangement common also in Italy, and yet more so in the Saracenic buildings of Spain. It is manifestly derived from the use of two detached columns with their entablature for the support of an arch, as in St. Constantia at Rome. They occur in some of the cloisters of this style, of which several instances remain ; as at Laach, where, notwithstanding the western apse, they occupy the position of the ancient atrium ; and in the celebrated example at Zurich. The shafts in this last example are extremely curious, being very slender, but with their wide-spreading capitals quite out of proportion, though rendered necessary by the broad soffit of the arch.

The German, like all other Romanesque styles, is rich in surface ornament, and that of a peculiar kind. There seem to be three kinds prevalent in Romanesque buildings ; animal figures, chiefly grotesque ; foliage and other vegetable details ; and that style of ornament which merely enriches, without representation of other objects, by means of the chevron and similar decorations. All these are common to all the forms of the style, but each of the three principal varieties of Romanesque would seem to have its favourite kind of enrichment, used to a greater extent, though by no means to the exclusion of the others. The first seems especially to mark the Lombard Romanesque, the last the Norman ; the second, and decidedly the most graceful, that of Germany. Besides the beautiful capitals of its columns and vaulting-shafts, the deeply recessed doorways afford still greater scope for this kind of ornament. Not only are the capitals of the shafts thus richly adorned, but in some cases the shafts themselves ; and thus the whole jamb is sometimes covered with decorations in which, though others are not excluded, foliage is decidedly predominant. The arch itself is sometimes less decorated than the jambs, contrary to the practice of our own examples ; a heavy roll moulding is very common. These doorways have usually a tympanum,

either enriched with the same kind of ornament, or, more commonly and appropriately, containing a sculptured group. I mentioned above the prominence which the arch obtained over the square opening, even in Italian doorways. In the German buildings, as in our own, the whole is fused together; the arch is not placed over the square aperture, but the tympanum is inserted beneath the arch.

The Romanesque of Germany is a form which deserves most attentive consideration, if it were only from the elaborate manner in which it has been treated by Dr. Whewell, and still more from the high praise which it has received from so judicious an observer as Mr. Petit, who manifestly considers this German style as the form of Romanesque most nearly approaching to perfection. Certainly it is the only form which can be put into any competition with the Norman of England and Northern France. But, before comparing these two noblest forms of the style, our course will naturally lead us to an English form of Romanesque, earlier, ruder, and rarer than that on which the burthen of competition with that of our foreign brethren must rest; to the buildings of the free and comparatively isolated days of Teutonic independence in England, before the establishment of the Romanized Norman had introduced a new influence into our language, manners, government, and art. And even before we fully enter on the disputed question of Anglo-Saxon architecture, it will be necessary to make a digression to another form, a field of the greatest interest but just opened to us, which, though having no essential connection with this point of the argument, affords a valuable collateral support to the views which I shall have to defend with regard to the erections of our Saxon forefathers.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE EARLY ROMANESQUE OF IRELAND.

WHILE other inquirers into the architecture and antiquities of the earlier days of Christianity have investigated every country

in which temples have been reared to the service of our religion ; while nearly all the magnificent cathedrals and abbeys of Europe have been subjected to such minute investigation, that without leaving our own fire-side, we may bring before us, with nearly all the vividness of personal knowledge, the spires of Burgos and the domes of Byzantium, the basilicas of Italy and the log-churches of Norway ; one patient, enterprizing, and zealous inquirer has by his own single exertions opened to us a field hitherto untrodden, and the glory of whose discovery is wholly his own. The magnificent volume of Mr. Petrie on the Architecture of Ireland forms indeed an epoch in ecclesiological research ; it brings the Church and her material fabrics before us in a new garb ; one less gorgeous indeed than that which we are used to contemplate ; one not gleaming with the gold of Tartessus, or the jewels of the Eastern land, but unsoiled by the touch of the world, severely arrayed in the sterner holiness of her earliest days, in all the immaculate whiteness of her virgin purity. In that far island of the west, in whose air the Roman eagle never fluttered, and from whose shore no captive was dragged to enrich a Cæsar's triumph with his combats and his agonies, we have most vividly brought before us the estate of the Church when her temples were but the damp cave or the rude hut, when she dwelt not as yet in the halls of the patrician and the palace of the emperor, and when the outcry of a populace, or the frown of a tyrant, hurried away her Pontiffs from their lowly thrones and altars to seal their witness in the reeking amphitheatre. These buildings, themselves of the most venerable antiquity, the earliest existing Christian temples in northern Europe, are the representatives of others more venerable still ; they derived not their origin from the gorgeous basilicas of Constantine and Theodosius, but in them we behold the direct offspring of the lowly temples of the days of persecution, the humble shrines where Cyprian bent in worship, and which Valerian and Diocletian swept from off the earth.

"It is, indeed," says Mr. Petrie, "by no means improbable, that the severe simplicity, as well as the uniformity of plan and size, which usually characterizes our early churches, was less the result of the poverty or ignorance of their founders than of their choice, originating in the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for

some model given to them by their first teachers; for that the earliest Christian churches on the continent before the time of Constantine were, like these, small and unadorned, there is no reason to doubt." And this position seems to be strongly corroborated by the fact that the apse is unknown, which manifestly points to a type anterior to the basilican model, as otherwise we can hardly account for the omission of that characteristic and almost universal feature.

The type of an early Irish church is something quite peculiar to itself; it is a simple quadrangular chamber, entered by a single doorway at the west end, and in the larger churches connected by an arch with another chamber to the east forming the chancel. Such is the form preserved with little change down to the Norman invasion, and always used to the exclusion of the circular, octagonal, and cruciform plans to be found in other countries. The small size of many of them appears at first sight almost incredible, sixty feet being the greatest length, and some being under thirty. Hence most probably, as this small size was fixed by a canon attributed to St. Patrick, arose the custom of erecting numerous small churches near together, when larger accommodation was required, instead of building a single large one. Though the apse does not occur, the altar-arrangements are identical in principle with those of the apsidal basilica, as Mr. Petrie has found in some examples a bench-table along the east wall, and the altar detached in front.

These ante-Norman churches readily resolve themselves, when architecturally considered, into two classes; the very rude and early structures, some of them dating from the fifth century, which can scarcely be said to belong to any definite style, and the later and more enriched ones which may claim a place, and very far from a contemptible one, among the many ramifications of the great Romanesque family. The peculiar stamp impressed on them by the traditions of the Irish Church hinders indeed the higher beauties of outline and proportion, and the majesty of great size and height; but whatever richness of detail was allowed by the nature of the fabric is found in a degree surpassed by the Romanesque of no other country.

The first impression conveyed by the contemplation of Mr. Petrie's specimens of the first class, is one which he himself not

unfrequently refers to, the remarkable similarity between these structures and the Pelasgian remains in Greece. The inclining jambs of many of the doorways transport us at once from St. Patrick and St. Kevin to the acropolis of Hercules and the tomb of Agamemnon. There is however no reason to suppose that the coincidence is more than accidental; it is simply the square-headed doorway in an unornamented form, and we have seen that doorways were invariably square-headed in Italy till the days of Theodoric. Other doorways have an arched head, with or without imposts; with one exception, they are not recessed, and are quite plain, excepting in some cases a plain torus moulding down the jambs. Others have only an arch of construction above the flat lintel, but as the space is filled in with several stones, it can hardly aspire to the name of a tympanum. The triangular-headed doorway does not occur in these early times, the only two instances discovered by Mr. Petrie being referred by him to as late a period as the twelfth century. The windows however, which are very small, with only an internal splay, and which appear to have been in no instance glazed, are very frequently of that form, being constructed of two inclining stones. They often however have square or round heads, the latter being the almost invariable form of the eastern windows. Of an equally plain character, though very well wrought, are the chancel arches, when they occur. They are always semicircular, and usually spring from inclining jambs without any decorative impost.

The roofs are high-pitched; in the churches furnished with distinct chancels, they were usually of timber; but the chancels were sometimes covered with an inclining roof wholly of stone, which appears to have been the usual covering of the smaller churches. Long and short work is common, but in its usual position in the Saxon buildings of England, the quoins of the walls, it is comparatively rare, being more commonly found in the sides of doorways and windows. A flat pilaster is also often found at the angles, which is sometimes continued along the gable.

But still more interesting and important in the history of architecture is the fact, distinctly proved by historical testimonies collected and sifted with the most extensive and patient learning,

that an ornamented Romanesque¹ style existed in Ireland anterior to the eleventh century, one moreover which exhibited many of the identical decorations which some of our archæologists would fain make us believe were hardly known till the twelfth. This style, which seems to have been in use from a period anterior to the ninth down to the twelfth century, is by no means identical with our Norman, although strongly resembling it in general character.

But even after the introduction of the enriched style, the ancient Irish builders still did not venture to depart from the small dimensions and simple ground plan which had the prescriptive authority of their earliest traditions. The smallest and rudest village churches of England ordinarily surpass in size and complication of plan even the cathedrals of primitive Ireland. Few positions are afforded for the introduction of ornament, but in those few, namely the chancel arches, doors, and windows, every kind of decoration known to the architect was lavished with an unsparing hand. This style of ornament, as far as mere surface decoration goes, is not very different from the Norman; the chevron and other ornaments of that style are common, and there is abundance of that intermixture of animal figures with basket, fret, and scroll work, which appears common to all early northern architecture. Some forms however occur which are not commonly seen in Norman architecture, though not differing greatly from it in principle.

The jambs for instance are treated in a manner by no means excluded from that style, but certainly not characteristic of it. An enriched Norman jamb, like a Lombard or German one, generally presents a series of shafts, standing boldly out from the jamb, crowned with their own capitals, and supported by distinct and bold bases. In the richest Irish archways, shafts are the exception, and, when they occur, are far more massive than is usual in other forms of Romanesque. In most cases each order of the arch rests on a jamb, which instead of having shafts attached, is itself channelled into bowtels of little projection. These very often have no pretension at all to the character of a shaft, and, even when they have, present but little boldness of projection, and of course there are several of these to a space

¹ See especially p. 236 of Mr. Petrie's work.

which in the other arrangement would be occupied by a single shaft. These are united under a single capital, or rather entablature, the most prevalent ornament of which is a human head at the angle, which Mr. Petrie aptly compares to the Isis-headed capital of Egyptian architecture. These groups of bowtels are finished at the bottom with what must be in courtesy called a base, though seldom preserving much resemblance to the bases of regular shafts, except where actual shafts are intermingled. These jambs seem to be a transitional stage between the enrichment of the jambs of a square doorway, and the employment of actual shafts. They are accidentally more advanced than the latter, having manifestly more continuity with the arch mouldings; and the assemblage of small members of little projection under a single architrave meets with its parallel even in the latest days of Gothic. It should not be omitted that the inclination of the jambs, characteristic of the earliest Irish buildings, is also continued in the more enriched style.

The mouldings of the arch, which appears to be always semi-circular, are, singularly enough, far more affected with roll and other sectional mouldings than is usual in early Norman work, a peculiarity which they share with the Saxon remains in England. These circumstances seem, among many others, to point out both the Irish and Anglo-Saxon styles as distinct varieties of Romanesque, having their own independent developments. The surface ornaments of Norman or similar character are usually neither so boldly worked as in England, nor so completely extended over the whole arch, being often confined to the label. One of the most curious, as well as the nearest approach to Norman work, of the numerous examples given by Mr. Petrie, is the round window in the church of Rahin or Rathain, in the King's County, which lights a chamber above the chancel. Though attributed by Mr. Petrie to so early a period as the eighth century, it is richly adorned with the chevron and bead mouldings, though carved in very low relief. There can be little doubt that it is, as he says, "not only the most curious of its kind remaining in the British isles, but also the most ancient."

But contemporary with the prevalence of Norman architecture in England, we find it introduced into Ireland also. The buildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are quite distinct from

the earlier ones, and exhibit the Norman system in all its fulness, differing only in some trifling peculiarities, such as are found in the contemporary buildings of different districts. Cormac's Chapel on the rock of Cashel, of which a circumstantial account, with numerous illustrations of all its principal details, is supplied by Mr. Petrie, is a manifest proof of this, and might take its place by the side of Iffley and Barfreton as a specimen of a rich Norman building on a small scale. We have here elaborate ornamental arcades, a groined chancel, rich doorways with sculptured tympana. Perhaps some traces of the earlier styles may be here and there discerned; and the use of square pilasters for shafts in some of the blank arcades, and of small shafts without arches as an exterior decoration, may be noticed as singularities; but the former is sometimes the case in Norman buildings, and the latter we have seen occurring both in Lombard and German churches.

Besides the churches, many other buildings of equal antiquity and similar architecture remain in Ireland, especially small oratories, and houses supposed in many cases to be the dwelling-places of the earliest saints. But the most interesting are the famous round towers, on which so much fanciful and ingenious speculation has been wasted. These Mr. Petrie convincingly shows to be simply detached campaniles, though also used, as church towers often were in all parts, and would especially be in a rude unsettled country like Ireland, for many other purposes connected with the Church, as beacons and as places for refuge in case of a sudden assault. They are never found apart from churches, they frequently possess Christian symbols, and their architecture always corresponds with that of the churches of their own date, namely, according to Mr. Petrie, from the sixth to the twelfth centuries. After his learned, diligent, and judicious investigations, the question may be considered as entirely set at rest, and the theories of their Danish, Phœnician, or Buddhist origin consigned to oblivion.

An Irish round tower is a tall, thin structure, proportionably taller and thinner even than an Italian campanile, and covered with a low conical capping. The doorways are placed at a considerable height, thereby showing that the towers were intended for defence, on the same principle by which many English steeples,

especially when designed for similar uses, have no external entrance.

I have perhaps treated these early Irish remains at greater length than their intrinsic merit would claim in a general history of architecture. But the field is so new and so interesting, and there is such a fascination about Mr. Petrie's book, that it would have been difficult to dismiss the subject hastily. And they will besides be found, as I hope to show in the next chapter, to throw much light upon the disputed question of Saxon and Norman architecture in England.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE EARLY ROMANESQUE OF ENGLAND, OR ANGLO-SAXON STYLE.

WITHIN the memory of man every ancient structure in England which exhibited round arches was indiscriminately considered as Saxon ; and the round and the pointed arch were respectively distinguished as Saxon and Gothic. Writers who had progressed somewhat further in such inquiries than was usual in their age, soon discovered that many of these edifices were shown by documentary evidence to be posterior to the Norman Conquest ; but even these had the old theory so embedded in their minds as to consider these as being still examples of the Saxon style, supposing that the style employed by the vanquished was continued or imitated by the new possessors of our island. Thus an inquirer, perhaps the most laborious, acute, and reverential of his time, the late Bishop Milner, speaks of the "heavy Saxon pillar" as retained in St. Cross ; and similar language is employed by one who did more than any other to revive a feeling for the poetry of ancient architecture, as of every other feature of the middle age :

"In Saxon strength that abbey frowned
On massive arches, broad and round."

This theory, fascinating as it must be to the mind of every true-

hearted Englishman, is now completely exploded, and we need not stop to show that by far the greater proportion of our Romanesque edifices not only belong historically to a period subsequent to the Conquest, but are specimens of a style which is most accurately and appropriately known as Norman. But some writers, not satisfied with this undoubted fact, seem animated with a desire to prove, in the teeth of all probability and all evidence, that every fragment of Saxon architecture has been swept from the earth, or rather that some physical or moral incapacity prevented our Saxon forefathers from putting stone and mortar together. The event of the field of Senlac is held to have introduced, by some mystic influence, a previously unknown power of constructing buildings into the British Isles; sometimes they seem inclined to add, into the whole of Europe. The year 1066 becomes an archonship of Eucleides, before which things either existed not or may not be remembered; the slightest hint that ought can have survived causes a kind of uneasiness to the propounders of these theories; theories "which," to apply the words of one of the strongest impugnors of Saxon capability of building, "were founded on little else than their own preconceived ideas of what Saxon architecture ought to be,"¹ namely a member of the important class known by some logicians as *οὐκ ὄντα*.

It is an objection frequently made by this class of writers that it is impossible to prove the existence of any Saxon remains; that is, to bring documentary evidence of their erection at a certain period. Now in the first place this assertion is by no means universally true. In several cases where supposed Saxon buildings exist, history mentions the erection of some structure at a corresponding time, which is as much evidence as is generally to be had for the date of any ancient building whatever. But this kind of objection might be brought with equal force against all classifications of this kind. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Rickman had documentary evidence for the date of every village doorway or window which he referred to the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth century. He simply observed certain peculiarities in buildings of one ascertained date, and concluded, naturally and rightly, that other structures in which he observed

¹ Glossary, Art. Saxon Architecture, note l.

the same peculiarities were of the same date. All architectural investigations must be based on inductions of this kind, or we shall be involved in the most inextricable uncertainty.

The facts are simply these. A number of buildings of a particular kind are found, by evidence, to have been erected in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and a further number of the same kind are naturally concluded to be of the same date. Another class is found, differing from these in several respects, which cannot be later, (if only because the forms of all the later periods are equally well known,) and which are therefore naturally concluded to be earlier. History tells us that some structures were erected at this earlier period, which must either be those in question, or else have utterly vanished from the earth; an assumption as gratuitous as to suppose all the recorded structures of any other period to have been universally destroyed, and to refer the existing buildings of that epoch to some earlier or later time. The Norman date and the Norman style are well understood; these buildings are not Norman in style; why persist in referring them to a Norman date, rather than to a Celtic, a Roman, a Decorated, or a Cinque-cento? To any one who attentively considers the question without prejudice, it must be clear, not only that buildings still exist which were erected during the Saxon period, but that an Anglo-Saxon style does exist, marked by its own peculiar features, and as distinct from the Norman as from any other form of Romanesque. Fresh instances are almost daily added to the list of such buildings, and it would seem probable that much more of what is so hastily and arbitrarily assumed to be Norman may really belong to the days of the Saxon saints.

The researches of Mr. Petrie into the antiquities of Ireland have of course thrown a very great corroborative light upon the subject. We there see a distinct, and very far from rude, style existing in that country long before the Norman era; we find, among other characters totally different, not a few of those features and ornaments which are arbitrarily supposed to be infallible marks of a Norman date. We can hardly suppose that structures reared by the great monarchs of our Saxon days, the Emperors of all Britain, were inferior to those erected by a petty prince of Ireland; and we have here demonstrative proof, were

any required, that the chevron and other similar ornaments are not necessarily a sign of date later than the Conquest. The antecedent objection, utterly unfounded and unreasonable as it was, is thus demonstratively overthrown. The Saxon churches, we are told, were small and insignificant, an argument which in itself proves nothing, and is again met by the analogy of the sister island; the Irish churches were still smaller and more insignificant; yet they exist and present distinctive features. That they were invariably, or even usually, of wood is a mere assertion without proof; to collect instances of such does but prove, what no one ever doubted, that churches were occasionally built of wood at all times, and that the practice was more frequent during the Saxon period than afterwards.¹ And to add to actual evidence an *argumentum ad reverentiam* of no small force, it is only necessary to refer to the distinct avowal of an author certainly not undervalued by antiquaries of this class, Professor Willis, who has incontrovertibly shown that large Saxon churches did exist, built on the same general type as those reared in subsequent ages, and farther gives a full description, gathered from ancient records, of the main features exhibited by the Metropolitan church of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege.²

But as these facts scarcely required external argument, Mr. Petrie's discoveries are more valuable as showing that ornamental work, and the particular kinds of enrichment which we arbitrarily call Norman, are not necessarily a mark of a date subsequent to the Conquest. A wide field is thus open for adding to our stock of existing Saxon remains, if this, hitherto considered an inviolable restriction, be removed. And I may venture to state that I had been myself inclined to attribute a Saxon date to several such instances before the appearance of Mr. Petrie's work exhibited those positive proofs of analogous cases which have of course greatly confirmed me in such a supposition.³

¹ See this subject well treated in a paper on Wooden Churches in the *Ecclesiologist* for August, 1848.

² See the second Chapter of his *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, and his *Winchester*, p. 34. A mass of information with regard to other Anglo-Saxon buildings has been

collected by Mr. Poole, in the second and third Chapters of his recently published *History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*.

³ "We shall be rather disposed to attribute some part of what is usually called Norman work, from the great skill it evinces, to the

We may then venture, in opposition to these purely destructive theories, to assume the existence of Saxon buildings as a certain fact; and an examination will show that they were erected in a style possessing totally distinct characters of its own. Let us attend to a hint cursorily thrown out by a really acute and philosophical observer, into whose plan a minute examination of the controversy did not enter. "What may be the extent of Saxon remains in England will probably remain a question among antiquaries. If the style differed essentially from the Norman, it might be considered an offset from the German Romanesque; but I am not aware of anything that leads us to suppose it ever acquired the purity and marked character of the latter."¹ Whether it be in historical truth an actual offset from the German Romanesque may be questioned, as it was more probably a direct Italian importation, and so would rather be a sister than a daughter. At the same time it can hardly be doubted that it belongs to the same family as the Romanesque of Lombardy and Germany, rather than to the other forms of Byzantine, Provençal, or Norman.

In investigating these most interesting questions, it must be borne in mind that no inquiry in the whole history of architecture is attended with greater difficulty, on account of the paucity and rudeness of existing examples. No perfect Saxon Cathedral or Abbey remains to bear witness to the effect of the style in those cases where richness and beauty were mostly to be expected; only a few portions, small and in several cases uncertain, are to be found scattered among our Minsters; we are left to derive our knowledge of our most truly national architecture from the rude, patched, and mutilated examples afforded by obscure parish-churches, which owe doubtless to their poverty and obscurity the preservation of their most valuable portions. It will be at once seen how difficult it is to determine the principles and features of an architectural style from such examples as these, possibly among the rudest of their own class. And this at once accounts for the great difference in point of ornament and general merit of execution apparent between the Irish and the Saxon remains; among the former we have the relics

Saxons, than to deny them the benefit of any evidence which may seem to assign an ante-Norman date

to any existing edifice.—Poole, *ut* *suprà*, p. 69.

¹ Petit, i. 99.

of the most enriched and most dignified churches of the country, though from a peculiar tradition even these were kept of small size. Hence we can judge of this style in its perfection, which in the case of our own Saxon we cannot do, as it would be manifestly unfair to argue from the rugged structures of the hamlet that nothing better was to be found in the Cathedral and the mitred Abbey. And it is indeed remarkable that a style of which so few and so rude examples alone remain, should still have such an entirely distinct character, as to render them recognizable at the first glance.

And we may here meet a sophism in which the opponents of the Saxon theory are extremely fond of indulging, namely that not one of the features supposed to mark the style are absolutely peculiar to it. The balusters¹ at St. Alban's, and any example of a triangular-headed opening, or of long and short work, which they can rake up at any other date, are pointed out with an almost childish glee, as irrefragable arguments that no building anterior to A.D. 1066 can possibly exist. As if this process could not be applied to any other style whatsoever. An author intent on demolishing Perpendicular might proceed with equal success; the four-centred arch proves nothing, being found in work of the thirteenth century in Stanwick church and in Oxford Cathedral; the square label over the arch is one of the commonest features of Arabian architecture; the low gable is common to New College Chapel and the Temple of Theseus; and a hundred other fallacies might be raised, which it requires no great acquaintance with the "*Solutio Sophismatum*" to unravel. Any one but an archæologist knows that there is an indescribable something about buildings, as about everything else, call it air, character, what you please, which stamps their style and date better than all the technicalities from one end of the Glossary to the

¹ I had always looked on St. Alban's as in some sense a Saxon church built after the Conquest, just as Waltham and Westminster were Norman churches built before; the retention of a few Saxon forms, where most of the workmen at least were doubtless English, being really no difficulty. In the elaborate

work on the Abbey just published by the Messrs. Buckler, they incline to the belief that many of its features are even chronologically Saxon, and that the church for which Abbot Frederick braved the wrath of the Conqueror was not utterly swept away by the contumelious stranger who usurped his seat.

other. And notwithstanding the astonishing fact that "the absence of buttresses is no evidence of date; buildings of all ages are to be found without them;"¹ the Anglo-Saxon unbuttressed tower has as distinct and peculiar a character of its own as any class of edifices in the world, and one which no accurate eye can confound with the equally unbuttressed tower often found of Norman, or even of later, date.

The internal arrangement of the Saxon churches is the point with regard to which we have the smallest store of examples to guide us. As far however as we can judge, they followed the usual type of the Latin Church, the chancel, nave, and aisles, with their arcades and clerestory; but the apse, though not excluded, is not of frequent occurrence. The piers seem to have been square; such is the case in the very rude and early church of Brixworth, the most ancient parts of which, (for two ante-Norman dates may be distinctly traced,) exhibit the Saxon Romanesque in its most primitive condition. The piers here are gigantic masses, chiefly of Roman brick, left perfectly square, with only a rude impost, and supporting arches of the same construction. The other arches of the same date (circ. 680,) throughout the church are of similar character. St. Michael's at St. Alban's, a much later structure, being attributed by Mr. Bloxam to A.D. 940, has also plain square piers, with a heavy impost; but these, as well as the arches, are chamfered at the edges. Pier arches of Anglo-Saxon date are very rare, but chancel and belfry arches are not uncommon, and among several diversities preserve one general character, having the semicircular arch and rectangular pier. The impost is commonly strongly marked, plain and very heavy, being a square block, with the lower edge sometimes left plain, sometimes chamfered. Sometimes more mouldings occur; and at Corhampton, and still more at Barnack, they are quite complicated, and are evidently rude imitations of classical architraves, bearing a most remarkable similarity to the doorway in the Palace of Theodoric. There is also a remarkable tendency to the employment of a heavy roll moulding both in the arch and jamb, in contradistinction to the square section of the early Norman. This has been remarked as a characteristic of the Irish Romanesque, but the Saxon spe-

¹ Glossary, *ut suprà*, Note N.

cimens are greatly deficient in the richness and elegance of the examples of the sister island. Those seem to betoken a style which had really developed towards Gothic faster than those of other nations ; here they are merely rude excrescences : it is not so much that the arch is channelled into mouldings as that these unsightly rolls are attached to it ; it is in fact the application to the arch of the same principle by which the shaft is attached to the jamb ; though in this case in a very rude form. The Saxon arch, even though, as at Wittering, it may present an actual hollow, does not, in its general effect, exhibit any approximation to verticality. A most valuable example of this style is to be found in the lantern arches of the ancient cathedral church of Stow, in Lincolnshire, assigned by Mr. Atkinson, in his paper read before the Lincolnshire Society, to as early a period as 678, and which he shows must be earlier than 870. The piers are square, with the usual heavy impost, interrupted by a huge bowtel, attached to the external faces, but without shaft or capital ; three smaller rolls are attached to the arch, which is of one order. This church, which exhibits¹ four Romanesque dates, three of them anterior to the Conquest, is most valuable, as containing authentic portions of a Saxon minster, and showing how widely removed the architecture of such a church, even at that early period, was from the rugged masonry of Brixworth.

The genuine jamb-shaft hardly occurs in Saxon architecture, except in the tower arch at Sompting, where a sub-shaft, with capital and base, supports the heavy roll attached to the soffit, which is in fact a continuation of the shaft, interrupted only by its capital. This last portion is adorned with rude foliage, interrupting a series of scrolls on the impost of the arch, like a frieze. The air of the whole is rather Irish than Anglo-Saxon. An exception to the rule of square piers occurs in the crypt under Repton church. Yet we here have in the "slender"² column a resemblance to the Lombard style, with its light and lofty subterranean chapels, rather than to the heavy proportions of the Norman crypt.

¹ Here, as in many other cases, we find Anglo-Saxon and Norman work side by side, as if purposely to show the diversity. Who could ever attribute the belfry arch at

Brigstock to the same *style* as the north arcade ? No sophism about "early" and "late" can evade the difficulty.

Bloxam, p. 71, seventh ed.

But there is a mode of treating arches, and their jambs, both constructive and decorative, at once more frequent and more characteristic of the style; that namely of facing them with a kind of flat rib of very small projection. This is evidently analogous to those vertical strips with which the Saxon architects delighted to cover their churches, and which form one of their chief sources of ornament, if a series of flat, narrow, square-edged projections can deserve the name. These strips, pilaster-strips as they may be called, though hardly answering Dr. Whewell's definition of that term, seem to take the place of shafts as external decorations; they are to the decorative shaft what the rectangular pier is to the column, and are thus quite in harmony with the other features of the style. And this view is confirmed by those at the angles of Sompington tower being treated as genuine pilasters with capitals, and by actual shafts occurring in juxtaposition with them. Connected with the treatment of jambs is the manner in which both they and the quoins of buildings were frequently, though far from universally, treated in this style. I allude to stones placed alternately in a horizontal and a vertical position, known as long-and-short work; this is evidently a wooden construction imitated in stone.

Doorways are mostly round-headed; that at Brixworth is of brick, as rude as the remainder of that wonderful, but most unsightly church. This example has no attempt at decoration whatever, but in others we find the characteristic impost, and the still more characteristic flat rib. Some are of two orders, as at Barton-on-Humber, and at Wenden, Essex. The latter, which is figured by Mr. Paley,¹ has its arch of brick, and has a tympanum perfectly plain. He gives another² from Little Abingdon, Cambridgeshire, where the impost is ornamented with the star and billet mouldings. The substitute for the arch, composed of two inclined stones, which we have seen occasionally occurring in other early forms of Romanesque, is also much used in this style. It is sometimes employed for the smaller and simpler doorways, in which the impost and rib often occur.

Windows also are sometimes of this last form, as the double one at Deerhurst, where the quasi-arches, which have the characteristic rib, are divided by a massive fluted pilaster, with a very heavy impost, moulded more like a rude architrave; this impost and the

¹ Gothic Architecture, p. 202.

² Ditto, p. 38.

fluting are also repeated on the jambs. Some of the smaller windows, as at the tower at Brixworth, are square-headed, or rather shapeless; but the head is usually round, though sometimes of almost incredible rudeness. A feature peculiar to the style, but by no means universal in it, is the double splay, both internal and external. The arches and jambs of windows are treated in the manner usual in the style for arched openings; some of those at Sompting have a roll moulding running all round, without any impost.

But the most characteristic window of the style is that which so frequently occurs in belfries, the compound window divided by a shaft; this is usually double, but at Earl's Barton as many as five occur together. The shaft is in some examples a complete baluster; the rudest example of this appears to be that at Monks-wearmouth, engraved by Mr. Bloxam, where the baluster has but a single swell, and has no moulding in any part. Most commonly however they have a double or triple swell, and are encircled by bands; the capitals being formed in a similar manner. Sometimes again, as in Wyckham church, Berks, the shaft is not a baluster, but a genuine pillar of short proportion, but with a capital of this kind. In others, which appear to be of later date, the shafts quite lose the character of balusters, are sometimes much longer, and have rude capitals more nearly approaching the Norman, as at St. Mary-le-Wigford¹ and St. Peter-le-Gowts, in Lincoln, and at Hale, near Heckington. These shafts or balusters support a long heavy impost, running nearly through the thickness of the wall, and consequently overlapping the shaft on both sides; this impost ought really to be considered as an entablature, as the shaft is often furnished with a distinct abacus beneath. The impost occurs again on the jambs, which never have any shaft attached. The arches are round, usually quite plain, without even the pilaster-strip of the style. Almost equally plain are the jambs, which are sometimes, but by no means always, constructed of long-and-short work. At St. Mary-le-Wigford, the arches have a very plain and simple chevron. All these windows possess a very marked expression,

¹ When this chapter was written, these two churches had not, to the best of my knowledge, been remarked as containing Saxon work;

they have been since mentioned in the Hand-book of Ecclesiology. Hale I have never seen noticed.

and that one totally different from the familiar type of the Norman double belfry window ; they are much ruder, it is true, but the difference is not that they are ruder specimens of the same character ; they have an entirely different character of their own. It may be remarked that the genuine containing arch, usually found over a Norman double window, is hardly to be seen in the Saxon style, unless we except those at Monkswearmouth, and St. Mary Junior, York, which are surmounted by a flat semicircular strip.

The towers in which these windows occur are by far the most remarkable and characteristic features of the style, and the only ones which give us much opportunity of judging of its general effect. They have a very marked character, totally distinct from that of their Norman successors. The latter, low, heavy, massive, are essentially designed to occupy the centre of a church, and never appear to so much advantage elsewhere. Many Saxon towers were central, and one or two such still remain ; in minsters and other large churches it was doubtless, no less than in after ages, the ordinary position. But the genuine type of the parochial Saxon tower, as transmitted to us in extant examples, is totally different, and is at once distinguishable by its far superior height. In fact the Norman tower is the legitimate successor of the cupola,¹ the Saxon is a rude imitation of the Italian campanile. The extant examples present many differences among themselves, some rising from the ground without so much as a string-course, others tapering in stages, and admitting of different degrees of ornament. Still no one can fail to recognize the hard, unmistakeable outline of the tall, unbuttressed Saxon tower ; it possesses a barbaric grandeur altogether its own, and breathes in its fulness the spirit of England's ancient days of freedom and isolation. Earl's Barton is evidently loaded with every species of decoration known to the architect, and the effect of plainer examples is always striking, both from the severity of the style, and from their usually faultless proportions.² The view of the city of Lincoln from the neighbourhood of the Minster is one which should raise a thrill of patriotism in the heart of every genuine Englishman ; the prominent objects being the tall Saxon steeples

¹ See above, p. 189.

I cannot help suspecting that at Barnack the later octagonal stage

has displaced the original belfry windows ; otherwise it would be quite anomalous.

of St. Mary's and St. Peter's, with their sharp outlines cutting through the sky, and soaring as commandingly over the neighbouring buildings as if no Norman king or prelate had ever held sway over the race that bade them rise. These two, with the exception of some rude sculpture at St. Peter's,¹ are without any attempt at enrichment, as are many others, as St. Michael's at Oxford, St. Benet's at Cambridge, Hale, and Dunham Magna, figured in the Glossary. This last is a central tower, but has quite the air of a western one, and is far taller than Norman steeples usually are in its position ; it is not divided by strings, but appears to batter from the ground. But many are enriched with the pilaster-strips and arcades. Such is the case at Stowe, Northamptonshire, a tower more altered by the insertion of windows than is usual, as these venerable relics would almost seem to have been treated with a religious reverence for their age and associations, not common in the best days of church building. Barton on the Humber is enriched to a much greater extent than Stowe with these strips and straight-lined arcades. But foremost among all our Anglo-Saxon monuments must rank the splendid tower of Earl's Barton ; the decorations are here so numerous, and in their way so elaborate, as to produce an effect of rude magnificence which can hardly be surpassed. Both the round and the straight-sided arch occur in the decorative arcades ; and there are some curious examples of decorative segmental arches on balusters, over small cruciform openings. The bold long-and-short work, the strongly marked strings, the gradual tapering of the tower itself, the interlacing of the pilaster-strips, the heavy, solemn belfry windows, the west doorway, one of the finest of the style, with its cavern-like recess, all combine to give this steeple, amid the utter rudeness of its architecture, a striking and even awful character ; even the graceful loveliness of its neighbour of Whiston commands less interest than the barbaric splendour of the stern old Saxon pile. Long may it stand to remind us of the days of our earliest freedom, of the long roll of our native saints and heroes, of holy bishops and no less holy princes, of Ina, and Alfred, and Æthelstan ; of Bede, and Dunstan, and martyred Alphege ; of Harold, and Gurth, and Leofwine ; of St. Wulfstan and Abbot Frederick ; of

¹ In this tower a distinctively Norman doorway has been erected in modern times, to the possible future confusion of all history.

the battle-axe of Hereward and the martyr-block of Waltheof; and all the glorious train of the "England of saints," ere yet she bowed beneath the yoke of a foreign lord.

One question yet remains with regard to these towers; namely, as to their original finish. This is retained in one instance only, that at Sompting, which has a termination common in Germany, but excessively rare in English architecture of all dates, namely, a low quadrangular spire, with a gable over each face. In all the others a parapet of later date disguises the original finish. There does not however appear any reason to suppose that Sompting gives us the universal, or even usual, type of the capping of a Saxon steeple; that building is so anomalous in other respects that it is hardly safe to argue from it, and we can scarcely suppose that terminations of this kind would have been so universally destroyed. The process is one quite different from the substitution of a parapet for a wooden capping or spire, and could not fail to leave perceptible traces on the tower. The composition of the whole tower, and especially the position of the belfry windows, must be different in a steeple of this description from one whose masonry is designed to have a horizontal finish. To lower the gables at Sompting would involve cutting through the upper windows, a process which certainly has not been undergone by our other Saxon towers, which evidently retain the original proportion and elevation of their masonry. To judge from the analogy of contemporary buildings on the continent, where cappings of all ages are so much more frequently preserved than in England, as well as from the representations in contemporary illuminations, we may suppose that they were usually covered with conical roofs or low spires of timber with dripping eaves; a remark which may be extended to many of our Norman towers also, whose original capping has been tampered with as universally as in the case of their Saxon predecessors.

Such are the Saxon buildings of England, a class which, from the lack of examples on a large scale, cannot be investigated with the same accuracy and completeness as the subsequent style, but which still possess a distinctive and strongly marked character of their own. The greatest points of distinction to be remarked in individual features are that Saxon architecture does not admit of the heavy cylindrical pier, nor, except in a single

anomalous instance, of the engaged shaft, and but very rarely of the arch of two orders. The division of the Romanesque styles according to the form of the pier, namely whether it is a rectangular mass or a column, now recurs with advantage; Saxon architecture is an example of the first class, Norman of the second. The Norman pier is either itself actually columnar, or constructed on a principle which allows great predominance to the columnar element, each order of the arch resting on its own shaft set in the angles of the rectangular mass. The Saxon arch is usually of one order, and, as well as its support, remains in its essence perfectly rectangular, not itself channelled or divided, but simply having roll mouldings attached to its square surface. The single instance of the shaft is merely such a roll attached to a square mass, and furnished with a capital and base. This alone marks the style as constructed on a different principle from the Norman, and approximating nearer to the German Romanesque. The towers are far more Italian than Norman, both in their general conception and in their peculiar windows;¹ there can be little doubt to which branch of the Romanesque family the whole style belongs. But the style of ornament is its own, and is doubtless owing to the imitation in stone of forms previously employed in wooden erections. The long-and-short work evidently comes from this source; the use of the straight-sided arch, though the form occurs in styles of other derivation, may well have the same origin; the baluster looks like something originally turned in wood; the peculiar pilaster-strips are just what might be expected in a wooden structure, an origin which does not preclude even direct imitation from the genuine pilasters and shafts of the foreign styles. A Saxon tower, in short, is an Italian campanile copied in timber, and then turned into stone.

When we consider that the period over which the existing Saxon remains are scattered is one of greater extent than the whole duration of Gothic architecture, it is naturally to be expected that many changes and diversities should take place in a style of such long continuance. Had we sufficient examples of Saxon minsters, it is by no means improbable but that we might

¹ "That the Saxons did imitate Roman models is shown by the very midwall shafts of the Saxon win-

dows, which are directly borrowed from the Roman campanili." Willis' *Canterbury*, p. 30.

be able to mark the changes, and their sequence, with at least as much accuracy as in the contemporary forms of Romanesque. But with the rude and scattered structures which are our only guides, this is of course impossible. Still differences of date may be detected, and the consideration of the timber construction just mentioned may perhaps enable us to divide the structures of the Saxon period into three classes, the chronological order of which, although not the exact duration of each, seems to be ascertained with probability.

We have then, first of all, the very rude and primitive structures constructed out of Roman remains, and imitating the Roman manner of building, though in a way so uncouth as hardly to present any definite architectural forms. These, of course, not being erected in imitation of wooden buildings, exhibit no marks of the timber construction. Of this order Brixworth is the great type, a church which, there is every reason to believe, was built in the latter part of the seventh century. Buildings of this kind exhibit few or none of the Saxon peculiarities, and although erected or altered after the Saxon Conquest, should rather be considered as very degenerate Roman, than as genuine Saxon. During this period we may suppose that few original structures of masonry were reared, except where Roman remains supplied materials at hand, and in the case of cathedrals and other large churches, of which the earliest parts of Stow afford such a valuable example. Even in minsters the style was often very rude, as is shown by the remains at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth late in the seventh century. Smaller churches were probably for the most part built of wood.

In the second age of Saxon architecture, the most truly and purely Saxon, we find the use of masonry extended to churches of smaller consideration, which are naturally stone imitations of the earlier timber structures. This is the time most prolific of those distinctive peculiarities of Saxon buildings which so strongly mark their wooden origin; it is the age of long-and-short work, pilaster-strips, balusters, and straight-sided arches. To this period belong most of the best-defined examples of the style, and we may take the noble towers of the two Bartons as types of the Saxon style in its greatest richness and purity.

The last period seems to answer to what Mr. Paley, who has treated this question with great care, and brought forward several examples not before mentioned; calls "Ante-Norman," as distinguished from the "Early British or Saxon." I must confess that I do not quite see the force or propriety of the name. In a view simply chronological, Ante-Norman would of course include the antecedent style, and is improperly confined to this period; and if it be meant to express a foreshadowing of Norman, either by anticipation, or by clumsy imitation anterior to the full introduction of the style, it may be doubted both whether the term clearly expresses its meaning, and whether the fact is sufficiently ascertained. This style certainly belongs to a period when there was an increasing connection between England and the Continent, and when a great denationalizing process seems to have gone on. On the other hand, the general character of the age, for at least a century preceding the Conquest, was not such as to lead us to expect any great improvements in art. Nor do we see in this later Anglo-Saxon style much direct approximation to Norman architecture. The general character and the main features remain the same as in the earlier style; but the distinctive features of the timber construction¹ gradually sink into desuetude. This is only what was to be expected, as the habit of stone building became more confirmed, and the builders brought their ideas into closer conformity with the new material. Thus the long-and-

¹ Since this was written, two articles have appeared in the "Ecclesiologist," for August and October, 1847, in which several Saxon towers in the North of England are mentioned, which would appear, from the descriptions given by the writer, to belong to the class described in this paragraph, but which he attributes to St. Wilfrid in the seventh century. He does not bring any very conclusive evidence for this opinion, but its admission would not alter the general view that I have taken of the respective antiquity of

the different classes of Saxon buildings. If St. Wilfrid employed an Italian architect, however much the inefficiency of the native workmen might interfere with the production of a good Lombard design, his presence would at least hinder the introduction of any "stone-carpentry," and thus would accidentally forestall the later buildings in which that construction had been worn out. At the same time the erection of so many stone towers at so very early a period would seem to require some strong direct evidence.

short work and the pilaster-strips are now less frequent, and less prominent when they are retained ; the straight-sided arch becomes less usual,¹ and the baluster gives way to the shaft. It is only this last change, and the occasional introduction of the chevron and other similar ornaments, that can be considered as a direct approach to foreign Romanesque ; and the features in question are by no means distinctively Norman. Up to the days when the Normanized Confessor introduced the complete style of his adopted country, Saxon architecture remained, as before, pre-eminently flat and square, in complete opposition to Norman principles.

Still it is clear that Saxon of this date, and very plain Norman work where the distinctive features of the style are not exhibited, must often be almost identical ; and I am inclined to believe, with Mr. Paley, that many plain, rude chancel and belfry arches, perhaps even other features, ordinarily considered as Norman, may, with equal or more probability, be referred to the later days of the Saxon period.² The arch with a plain broad soffit, rising from a mere impost without shafts or mouldings, is indeed often undoubtedly Norman, sometimes late Norman ; but there seems no reason to suppose that it is invariably posterior to the Conquest, and in some cases it can hardly fail to be genuine Saxon. Thus the chancel arch of St. Peter-le-Gowts would at first sight be called plain Norman, but it exactly corresponds with the clearly Saxon belfry arch, and may therefore be safely set down as part of the Saxon church.³ Similar examples, which may very probably be Saxon, are of frequent occurrence. And doubtless further investigation may bring to light many remains of this style lurking among our ancient churches, even those of cathedral or conventual rank. Indeed it appears not

¹ It occurs at Deerhurst, built in the time of Edward the Confessor.

² This seems admitted by Rickman, App. p. vi., new edition.

³ A Norman aisle of very different character has been added, and since destroyed. At Pateshull in Northamptonshire, a church which I do not remember to have seen

noticed as containing Saxon work, we have long-and-short work at the west end, and a chancel arch of this kind with a rude chevron moulding ; which I may mention as having been the first instance which led me to doubt whether that and similar ornaments were indisputable signs of Norman date.

impossible that no less a church than the present cathedral of Oxford¹ may be, in the main portions of its fabric, a monument of the later days of Saxon architecture, notwithstanding the extensive metamorphosis which it underwent at the end of the twelfth century. If so, we have a complete minster, of comparatively small size, but of the fullest cathedral type, belonging to the early part of the eleventh century. It seems to have had arches of one order, with immensely broad soffits, rising from square piers. These would almost appear to have had shafts at the angles, which however in that position would scarcely detract more from the genuine square Saxon type than the attached roll mouldings. There was a clerestory and high-pitched roof, but no triforium. All this differs very much from the usual Norman forms, and the evidence between the conflicting statements which would assign it, some to the days of Æthelred II., others to those of Henry I. seem very evenly balanced. But without introducing these dubious examples, we may rest assured, from what has been above adduced, that our Saxon forefathers had a national architecture of their own, differing essentially from the subsequent Norman, and having equal claims to be considered as a genuine and distinct branch of the great Romanesque family.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE ROMANESQUE OF SOUTHERN FRANCE, OR PROVENÇAL STYLE.

SOUTHERN Gaul, held so long under Roman sway, was probably almost as completely Romanized as Italy itself; and this character it preserved for many centuries. Far down into the middle ages this region was distinguished from the more purely Frankish provinces to the north by a difference in its language—that especially known as Romance—its habits, and general system of civilization, all of them retaining a strong impress of the fallen empire. Hence no country afforded a wider scope for the development of a Romanesque style, and we shall accordingly find that

¹ See the "Ecclesiologist" for February, 1847.

nowhere, except in Italy, did the direct influence of the antique so long continue. And with the exception of some apparently Byzantine elements, the style appears quite indigenous; it would not seem, like the early styles of Germany and England, to have been imported from Italy after classical rules had begun to be disregarded, but to have grown up on the soil, from imitation and adaptation of the Roman remains of the country, so many of which still remain to attest the wealth, civilization, and thoroughly Romanized character of its ancient population.

In this, as in most other countries, the ascertained structures of early date are but few, and most of the examples are as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But their character is quite distinct from any other edifices of the same date; their outline and their detail are alike their own, and the latter at least retains a much stronger classical tinge than is to be found in Norman, or German, or even pure Lombard structures.

The nature of this classical element is very singular, and quite different from that pervading the architecture of Italy; the latter retains the forms and details of classic art by direct and formal imitation, by a distinct wish to adhere, or return, to ancient precedent, and to withstand prevalent innovations. But in this Provençal style there is no such deliberate intention, but rather a working up of classical ideas, and clothing them with the spirit of the new forms and combinations which the progress of art had developed. It is thus far analogous to cinquecento, but with this important difference, that in the latter style there was a deliberate purpose to introduce a new and incongruous element, so that, as was to be expected, the effect is generally unsatisfactory; here it is merely a vestige of former days clinging to the style, and adapting itself to its new requirements, probably without any formal intention either to innovate or to resist innovation: so that it is at least not more objectionable than any other Transition style. This cannot be better exemplified than in the church of St. Gilles in Languedoc figured in the *Moyen Age Pittoresque*. We have here three magnificent round-headed doorways, with tympana; the transom takes the complete form of an entablature, that of the central and larger doorway being continued along the wall till it meets the arches of the other two; but these entab-

latures are neither Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian, but Provençal; rich indeed, and perfectly living with statuary, but of a form more adapted to the style than any of the regular orders would have allowed. These entablatures rest on columns, boldly detached from the wall, and of tolerably classical character. Behind, in the intermediate spaces, are other merely decorative entablatures, of a character perfectly barbarous to a Vitruvian eye, resting on fluted pilasters, a translation of the blank arcade of the period into quasi-Grecian language. An Italian, wishing to introduce an entablature, would have made it the prominent feature, and thrown the arch into insignificance; the Provençal architect, even in A.D. 1116, the date assigned to the building, had not quite cast the entablature aside,¹ but he clothed it in Romanesque form, and made it subordinate to the main design.

This adaptation of classical notions runs through the whole style. The classical columns are not commonly employed as piers, the compound pier being found so much more appropriate to the style, but "pilasters are used in the interior, of so classical an appearance, that if these were not pretty universal, one should be tempted to believe them subsequent interpolations. They are fluted, sometimes with zig-zag flutes, or each decorated with arabesques or sculptured mouldings."² Again, there is a great tendency to retain the entablature, as in the doorways³ just mentioned above. The use of shafts, sometimes real engaged columns of considerable size, to support external cornices, is far more frequent than elsewhere; actual decorative colonnades often take the place of the small arcades of other styles; and nowhere do we so commonly find the shafts set two deep, as in the cloisters of Arles and Aix, where an entablature, but of totally unclassical character, rests on the capitals of the small pillars.

All these things point to an indigenous style, and to a feeling

¹ In Bourges Cathedral is a doorway with an entablature *enriched with a decorative arcade*.

² Willis, *Architecture of the Middle Ages*, 152.

³ These would seem to be the parents of the great French double doorways, with flat-headed open-

ings on each side the central shaft.

⁴ This is very strongly shown in the splendid front of St. Cross at Bordeaux, where ranges of pillars piled on each other, occur in the utmost profusion. See the plate in the *Moyen Age Monumental*.

with regard to classical art very different from blind imitation or retention ; it is an endeavour to retain certain forms which are felt to be graceful, and yet to keep them in their proper relation to others which it was felt must be predominant. It is a feeling far more refined and delicate than any that can be traced in the Renaissance, or even in the Pisan school ; there is no affectation, no thrusting forward of the classical forms to the hindrance of the consistency of the Romanesque whole. The omission of the columnar pier is a most remarkable instance ; no feature would have been so readily grasped by a mere common-place imitator ; yet it is surrendered, while fluted pilasters, which seldom occur in Romanesque buildings elsewhere, are retained in abundance. The architect preferred, *cæteris paribus*, a classical form, but not to the prejudice of general consistency. And in matters more purely of detail, the adaptation of the small decorative entablatures to the Romanesque style of ornament is still more curious ; a row of triglyphs would at once have struck the eye as incongruous, but an entablature covered with Romanesque sculpture, is lost in the general Romanesque effect.

This kind of architecture is briefly described by Professor Willis as being "of all the Romanesque styles, that which appears to possess the most simplicity and plainness of decoration, and yet the greatest complication of parts." The outlines of the great churches of this style are peculiar to themselves, and at once distinguish them from Italian, German, and Norman buildings. Low roofs and gables, sometimes very long transepts, their intersection marked sometimes by an octagonal, sometimes by a square tower, either low and massive, or rising to a great height. This is sometimes coupled with one at the west end, but the variety of grouping which so distinguishes the German churches is never found. The towers are sometimes covered with spires, sometimes with low roofs. But the most characteristic feature is the apse, which has an aisle, from which diverges a series of radiating chapels, commonly themselves apsidal. These do not join each other, as in the analogous Gothic arrangement, but leave space for windows in the aisle between them. Even large churches are sometimes without clerestories ; hence, as the gables are commonly low, the west fronts, when not occupied by a tower, have a monotonous outline.

The internal features are even more peculiar to the style than those of the exterior ; compound arches rest on tall rectangular piers, which either support the orders on attached shafts, or else themselves follow the same section, and have merely an impost. Shafts or pilasters attached to these piers, rising either from the ground or from the impost of the pier-arches, support the ribs of the vault, which is of the barrel shape, with or without a cornice at its spring. The tall arcades thus formed in the cathedrals of Valence and Avignon, which are without either clerestory or triforium, are totally unlike anything in German or English Romanesque. In other examples one or both of those features occur.

Columnar piers, as was before said, are usually excluded ; the apses form an exception, as the narrowness of the arches in that position requires a lighter pier, and columns are therefore generally in use. The church of Ainay at Lyons, described by Mr. Petit, has however its pier-arches supported throughout by Corinthian columns, whose proportions seem pretty nearly to answer the rule given in a former chapter as most appropriate for columnar piers.¹ The smaller details similarly show the strong classical feeling which was retained, though kept quite in subordination to the general Romanesque conception. The small shafts are often more classical than in other forms of Romanesque, both in their proportions and in their capitals ; strange vagaries are however sometimes to be found, as the extraordinary twisted columns in the cloister at Arles. In this structure are many other curious details, as figures, like the ancient caryatides, supporting capitals or entablatures, on which, in some cases, rest the pilasters supporting the vaulting, which is of the usual barrel form. The heavy Corinthian pilasters, without arch or entablature, which serve as buttresses, have been particularly noticed by Mr. Petit.

The arches, both constructive and decorative, are of course commonly round ; the straight-sided arch alternates with the round in a decorative arcade at Valence ; but it is remarkable that in so classical a style we find a systematic use of pointed arches probably of earlier date than in any other form of Romanesque. Yet these examples are not Transitional ; the pointed

¹ See page 172.

arch is accompanied by no other Gothic feature, and occurs only in certain fixed positions where, from constructive reasons, it was found to be preferable to the round. This is in the barrel-vaulting of the roof. "In the south of France," says Mr. Petit,² "nothing is more common than a barrel-vault, that is, one without lateral cells, above which is a low-pitched external roof of stone. Now it is clear that the connection between the two for support is stronger and more easily effected the nearer their ridges approach together; and hence it is advantageous that the internal roof should be pointed instead of round. This is frequently the case." He then proceeds to mention some of the most classical buildings of the Provençal style as exhibiting this feature, such as St. Honorat at Arles, and Aix and Avignon cathedrals. The latter has an additional instance in the pointed arches under the octagon; to employ the pointed form in this position is only natural when the vault is of that shape, to avoid the unpleasant effect of their contrast. May we suppose that the small elevation of the lantern arches which he mentions at Aix, and which appears very strongly in his cut of St. Honorat, is owing to a feeling of this incongruity? This arrangement avoids a direct contrast between the two forms, though at the expense of an unmeaning piece of blank wall between them. The cornice of the roof is manifestly the natural point for the impost of the lantern arches. The pointed arch does not occur, except in these two positions, which shows distinctly that the instances in which it is found are mere detached examples arising from constructive reasons, or from æsthetical ones so manifest as to be equally powerful, and that they have nothing to do with the formation of the Gothic style. In the words of Mr. Petit, they "can hardly be looked upon as having introduced the general use of the pointed arch, though we may possibly be indebted to them for some of the earliest specimens we know."

The mouldings of enriched arches, as of doorways, &c. are of various kinds; the Norman ornaments occur side by side with mouldings evidently borrowed from classical architraves, while the rich sculptured representations of animal and vegetable life assimilate them to the German examples; imagery is everywhere lavishly introduced. The doorways present several forms, but

¹ I. 114.

all displaying a much closer adherence to classical models than is found either in German or Norman buildings. In the example given by Mr. Petit from Aix Cathedral the details are quite classical, though put to an entirely novel application. This exhibits a peculiar transition between the rectangular classical doorway with an arch of construction over it, and the complete Romanesque form, where the square head is made quite subordinate to the arch. Here the arch is but of one order, consequently there is but one shaft on each side ; these are Corinthian columns, with pedestals below, and the unmeaning piece of entablature belonging to the corrupt Roman style above. On these rests the transom, which entirely cuts off the arch from its jamb ; this arch is more than a mere arch of construction, and yet has not the prominence which it would have received in more complete Romanesque. Above is a sort of canopy, consisting of two engaged columns, with the same fragments of entablature and a cornice across. This whole example is most valuable as indicative of the manner in which classical ideas, and probably, as Mr. Petit suggests, actual classical fragments, were retained in the architecture of this district. A square-headed doorway with jamb-shafts is, as far as I know, peculiar to this style, but it would seem to be a natural development, exactly analogous to the small decorative shafts and entablatures. The west porch of Avignon Cathedral is even more completely Roman, but this is said to be a portion of an ancient temple.

The French antiquarians are fond of tracing an oriental character in the early Romanesque of their country, and often call the style which seems better denominated Provençal, by the names Byzantine or Romano-Byzantine. This theory, as applied to the whole class, seems unfounded, or, at least, exaggerated ; but it is certain that several detached instances of churches occur, which in other respects approach more nearly to this style than to any other, but whose main outline and arrangement are evidently borrowed from Constantinople. One of the most remarkable is the Cathedral of St. Front at Perigueux, which is attributed by M. Ramée to the eleventh century, and of which several views are given by M. Gailhabaud. It is built in the form of a Greek cross, without aisles, with a cupola of the spreading Byzantine form over the crossing, and another over

each limb. They are supported by *pointed* arches resting on perfectly plain square piers, themselves perforated with a tall round arch in each face. The apses, attached to the east end of the choir, and to the eastern faces of the transepts, are much lower than the body of the church; the principal one is entered by a pointed arch, the others by round arches on Corinthian columns. The principal apse is decorated with an arcade of stilted round arches on columns, the others with a colonnade of two orders. At the west end is a circular tower, mounted on a singular square base, very tall and slender, adorned with pilasters and engaged columns, and crowned with an ogee cupola. M. Ramée enumerates several other examples, in some of which pointed arches occur; one of them, Nôtre Dame du Puy, has as many as eight bays, each crowned with a cupola, it being the usual practice to place one over each bay, when the Greek cross is not employed.

The same writer observes¹ that "the history of these churches is unknown. Perhaps in time we may be enabled to learn their origin, which, it is possible, is connected with some schism, some protest on the part of their authors against the authority of the Church of Rome, against the monks and abbots who were the architects of the day. Perhaps they are further owing to a rivalry between the artists who followed the ancient traditions, and some others of an innovating spirit, and jealous of creating new forms. Thus much is certain, that these domical churches are an imitation of the advanced times of architecture among the Byzantines. For, as we have said . . . it was only during the second epoch of the lower Greek architecture that the domes multiply, and that it is further during the third, from the tenth century to the twelfth, that the plan of the churches begins again to approach to that of the Roman basilicas."

The above remarks are at least ingenious; when we consider the numerous worn-out heresies which took refuge in the south of France, and the new ones which were there developed, as in the very birth-place of every kind of dangerous and erroneous speculation, it would seem by no means improbable that so marked a diversity from the architecture of the rest of the Latin Church, one involving far more neglect of ancient precedent, than is

¹ II. 221.

implied in a mere difference of style, may have originated in some such spirit of opposition to Church authority as M. Ramée suggests. Architecturally considered, there can be little doubt that this diversity is to be traced, as M. Ramée himself has just stated, to a direct imitation of oriental models.

The genuine Provençal architecture is, in point of beauty, inferior both to the German and the Norman form of Romanesque, and does not occupy the same prominent position with them, either as a separate development of the style, or as influencing those of other times and nations; still it is very far from being devoid of interest in a general view of the art. The tenacity with which it adhered to classical ideas and details, after northern Europe had completely rejected them, marks the firm, undying hold of the giant power of Rome upon those portions of her empire which had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of her manners and institutions, and the proud feeling with which they still clung to the majestic shadow of her fallen power. But on the other hand the living, plastic manner in which these classical elements are worked up into harmony with the requirements of another system, marks no mere adherents to antiquated models, but enlightened admirers of the monuments of antiquity, fully sensible at the same time of the requisitions of their own age, country, and religion. This character is quite in harmony with the general spirit of the people, the great intellectual activity and refinement displayed in their social and political systems, their elegant language and literature; all of which were marked by so broad and easily defined a line of demarcation from the more purely Teutonic systems of northern France,¹ a line which in architecture is equally to be recognized in the two distinct forms of French Romanesque, the Provençal and the Norman.

¹ On this line of demarcation, and the extraordinary phænomenon of Tournus Abbey, which marks at once the geographical and the ar-

chitectural boundary, see the admirable remarks of Mr. Petit, vol. ii. 244.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ROMANESQUE OF NORTHERN FRANCE AND ENGLAND,
OR NORMAN STYLE.

WE now come to a form of Romanesque which for an English writer must possess a charm with which no other can compete, as being the style of so many of the most glorious churches of his own land. To one especially who knows the splendours of foreign lands by report alone, but who can speak from personal knowledge of Winchester and Peterborough, of Ely and Rochester, of Southwell and Romsey, it will be allowable to dwell with greater minuteness upon the architecture of so splendid a period, when if art had not reached the same zenith of perfection as in the palmy days of Gothic skill, yet the number, vastness, and magnificence of its works attest alike the bounty of founders and the genius of architects. Within one hundred years, or little more, all the Cathedral, and probably most of the existing Conventual, churches in England were reconstructed, sometimes more than once, while many Abbeys were newly founded, and parochial churches innumerable built or rebuilt. And notwithstanding the transmutations which our churches have since undergone, the remains of this period are yet scattered profusely throughout our country, and in many of our most superb buildings it is the prevalent style. Majestic and awful, rather than beautiful, no style is more truly religious, more imbued with the spirit and position of the Church in its own day, the day when St. Anselm braved spoliation and banishment, and St. Thomas sealed his witness with his blood.

The intrinsic merits of the Norman style, and the historical associations which should render it perhaps dearer to us than any other purely Northern creation, can hardly be called in question, but its true position in the history of the art may be open to some controversy. Without at present entering upon the disputed claims of Romanesque in general to be considered as a definite and perfect style of architecture, we are met at

starting by the fact that one of the most diligent observers of facts, and at the same time the most acute discerner of principles,¹ to be found in the whole list of architectural writers, denies its Norman form to be genuine Romanesque at all, but rather incipient Gothic.

I am not prepared to deny that many of our finest Norman churches do exhibit signs of the approaching style; but this does not hinder the Norman style itself from being, in idea at least, a pure Romanesque development. No Norman building might exist in which some individual feature might not show a Gothic tendency, and yet an ideal type might be recovered even from existing buildings. But there is no necessity for such an inquiry, as certainly Norman structures do exist which exhibit a Romanesque style in its utmost purity.

The feature in which this tendency is first to be perceived is in the breaking² up of the rectangular section of the arch; it would indeed be extremely difficult to discover any number of enriched buildings which are entirely free from mouldings affecting the profile. Yet it may be doubted whether even this feature, which is not peculiar to the Norman Romanesque, is so essentially an approach to Gothic as might be supposed. When rolls are merely attached to the surface, as in the Saxon style, no approach at all is to be inferred; and scarcely more so when they are merely fitted into angles, just as the shafts are to the jamb below; it is only late in the style, when the hollow becomes prevalent as well as the round, that we discern a real approximation to the Gothic system of moulding. At the same time the presence of these rolls, whether in Norman or other buildings, is certainly a deviation from the purity of the Romanesque ideal, which clearly is best answered by receding arches retaining the square section, and enriched only with surface ornament.

The introduction of the Norman style into England is a matter of history; as St. Edward is recorded to have rebuilt the Abbey of Westminster in a new style. This innovation was quite in character with his Norman predilections, and the thoroughly denationalized tone of his whole government. At the same time we have a sufficient testimony to the great supe-

¹ See Petit, *Church Architecture*, vol. i. chap. v.

² See Whewell, p. 280.

riority of the Norman style, even at that early period, over the architecture of the native structures, in the fact that King Harold himself employed it in the erection of his magnificent Collegiate Church at Waltham. And even in Normandy itself, the native country of the style, hardly any recorded buildings remain of earlier date than the eleventh or twelfth century ; still this does not incontestably prove that the Norman Romanesque may not have assumed a distinctive form at an earlier period. The works from which an English writer has to derive his knowledge of foreign buildings confine their examples almost exclusively to Minsters, or other churches remarkable for size or splendour, or for some distinguishing peculiarity. Little notice is taken of the rude and obscure piles in which, as in our own land, an earlier style might be expected to lurk. But how little we are entitled to decide that the well-known Norman is the only form of Romanesque even now existing in Normandy, without an examination of buildings of this kind, is clear from the analogous fact that the inspection of our Cathedrals alone would have led no one to suspect the existence of an ante-Norman style in England.

A great deal has been said with regard to the wide difference between early and late Norman architecture in England ; but, except where the latter begins to exhibit actually transitional features, no difference in principle can be detected.¹ The only distinction that can be established is that the characteristic ornaments of the style are found in greater profusion in the more recent structures, and that the massiveness of building is somewhat diminished. As to the decorations, it has been shown that they are not distinctively Norman ; and, if not often found in England during the first days of the Conquest, they are common enough in Normandy. And the inferiority in point of ornament, as well as the comparative rudeness in masonry and sculpture, may be readily accounted for by the state of things soon after the Conquest ; by the precarious position of the conquerors, and the probable inferiority of the native workmen whom they were doubtless, in many cases, constrained to employ. In fact we ought rather to wonder at the energy with which the Bishops and Abbots of that period set to work to rebuild their churches, and that they were enabled to build them at all, than

¹ Compare Whewell's *German Churches*, p. 280 et seqq.

at their lacking the richness of the contemporary buildings of Normandy, and of those subsequently raised in England. It is consequently an unfair way of arguing, to look to the Chapel of the Tower of London as a proof of the non-acquaintance of its architect with the richer style, which, it is argued, would, if then known, have been certainly introduced in all its fulness into the Chapel of a royal palace. When it is considered that this royal palace was a fortress hastily erected for a military invader to control a half-conquered city, no reasonable person would look even in its Chapel for such elaborate beauty as adorned the subsequent royal Chapels of Westminster and Windsor. We may therefore safely treat the Norman style both in England and Normandy, both of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as a unity; though smaller diversities, both local and chronological, may of course be observed, and it is not to be denied that, as a whole, the style, both in England and Normandy, gradually advanced in richness and excellence.

The most Gothic feature about the Norman style is, after all, the outline given to its churches, which, with all its differences from the pure Gothic type, approaches nearer to it than to those employed in any other form of Romanesque. But this is an ecclesiastical rather than an architectural resemblance; it only shows that the Norman architects had the high privilege of developing that most perfect and appropriate form of a Catholic temple which future ages retained. Still this is quite independent of mere detail and style, and might be reproduced with German, Provençal, or pure Roman details. This outline will at once distinguish a Norman church from one of any other form of Romanesque.

The type of a great Norman church, though every individual example will by no means agree with it, is of course, as in every other style, cruciform; the nave is often of a very great length, as at Ely, Peterborough, Winchester, Norwich, and above all, St. Alban's, where its vast unbroken extent, wonderful as is its effect, is almost a deformity. The transepts are shorter than at a later date; the choir, though still comparatively small, is no longer, as in the German Romanesque, almost hidden by turrets, but stands boldly out as a distinct part of the church; it is usually apsidal, but is generally without diverging chapels, and

often without a surrounding aisle. A tower rises from the intersection, which is almost always short and massive, sometimes no higher than the ridge of the roof, but generally rising one, or at most two, short stages above it; it is sometimes gabled, but more commonly, when unaltered, covered with a conical roof or spire. The west front is usually flanked by two lighter towers terminating the aisles; smaller turrets occasionally occur in other positions, but towers of any consequence are not found at the east end, as in Germany; the whole outline being concentrated upon the magnificent composition of the central and western towers. The shape of the towers is almost invariably square, and the genuine cupola is quite unknown.

Yet, with the vast remains which we possess of Norman architecture, no English minster exhibits the type pure and unmixed; we have far more examples of splendid internal naves, than of exteriors exhibiting the outline of the style. Even Southwell, whose three towers give it more character than any other, is only Norman up to its chancel arch, and even in the rest of the building, the roofs and spires have perished, and the west front has been grievously tampered with. And in Normandy itself but few great churches remain as they came from the hands of the Romanesque builder. But here the change has been effected rather by later rebuildings of whole parts, than by alterations in detail. Less frequently than in England does the Flamboyant window cut through the Norman façade, or the pointed clerestory and vaulting overtop the solid arcade and triforium; and further, the roofs, which always give so much character, generally remain. Thus we can learn much more of the general effect of a Norman church from foreign than from English examples. Perhaps the Abbey of St. George Bocheville, in Normandy, figured by Mr. Petit, and described and illustrated more in detail by Mr. Cotman, is the most complete example of an unmixed Norman Minster remaining. Though not of the first size, and lacking western towers, it is a perfect specimen of a church of the style. The apse, forming a separate building, and including a considerable portion of the straight side of the choir, the transept ends, the low central tower and wooden spire, the long nave, the high roof throughout, are all pure Norman.

An unaltered Norman west front on a large scale hardly exists in England. Some of the French examples have been more fortunate; and we can from them recognize the general type. Two rows of small round-headed windows occupy the end of the nave below the gable; the gable itself is left very plain: the towers, comparatively plain till the point where they become clear of the church, are, in their upper portion, profusely decorated with arcades; they are usually relieved at the angles by the flat pilasters of the style. The west front of St. Stephen's Abbey at Caen is perhaps the most valuable in existence, as showing the contrast between plain and enriched Norman work. The original portion seems to include the end of the nave, and the towers up to the springing of the gable. The compartments of the composition are divided by flat pilasters of unusual projection. It is very remarkable for the unity which pervades the whole design. In many cases, as at Southwell and St. Nicholas at Caen, the lower part of the towers is left comparatively bare; or where, as in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, they are enriched, they often do not harmonize with the decoration of the nave, nor even correspond with its stages. But here, where the plainness is so great that the stages are not even marked by strings, and where the windows are not relieved by a single shaft or moulding, the towers are brought into complete unison with the termination of the nave; the rows of windows being continued along them, and a doorway placed in each division. The upper parts of the towers are doubtless part of the original design, though carried out with much more richness of detail, and probably with a greater loftiness of proportion, than was at first contemplated. But this portion will be considered with more propriety, when we come to speak of the capping of Norman towers.

The usual type of west front for a small church includes a doorway, often of great richness, below; a single row of arches above, one or more of which are pierced as windows; and a gable left plain, or pierced with one or more windows. Pilasters formed by projection, or by recessing the ornamental parts, usually flank the sides, but pinnacles or turrets scarcely occur.

The transept fronts of large Norman churches are generally better preserved than the western ones. Such a front seldom exhibits an arcade along its whole breadth. They are in fact treated on exactly the same principle as the lateral elevations;

when a transept has no aisles, its front and sides will usually be found to be repetitions of the same design. The front is commonly divided vertically into two or three compartments by pilasters, and horizontally by strings into three ranges, answering to the arcade, triforium, and clerestory of the interior; each of the divisions thus formed being occupied by a window. When there are aisles, they generally follow the same rule, making a fourth and fifth vertical division, and having the two lower ranges of windows continued across them. With such an arrangement it is impossible that a doorway should form a conspicuous feature; when one occurs, whether original or inserted, it is necessarily but an insignificant part of the design. The gable does not usually form part of the main composition, but has its own arcades or other decorations, designed without reference to the arrangement of the lower parts. Turrets and pinnacles often flank the angles. Magnificent transept fronts of this description remain in several of the great Norman churches.

In cathedral and other great churches the east end was commonly apsidal; this is the case with the principal examples in Normandy, and was so with all the Norman cathedrals in England, except Old Sarum, together with many conventual, and some parochial edifices. But subsequent adaptations to the strange insular tradition of the flat end have, in the great majority of instances, destroyed the main apses of the superstructure; though in the crypts the apsidal form often remains. In great churches not cathedral the apse was less universal, many fine examples, as Romsey, St. Cross, and the present Cathedral and St. Peter's church in Oxford, have always had flat ends. St. Cross has an east end conceived on the model of a transept front, with the aisles prolonged the whole way. Oxford cathedral appears to have had a circular east window. The great churches of Normandy afford several fine examples of apses; they are usually divided vertically by tall slender shafts finishing under the cornice; horizontally, they usually have three stages, the two upper forming windows, and the lower an ornamental arcade; the open gallery of the Rhenish churches is wanting. The apse is generally a distinct building, of somewhat less elevation than the choir.

In small churches in England the east ends have been fre-

quently altered and rebuilt, but from the existing examples and the vestiges of the destroyed ones, the apse appears, though far from uncommon, not to have been the prevalent termination of the Norman chancels. Many of the finest of our small examples have flat ends; they commonly exhibit three windows of equal height, splayed inwardly so as to form a triplet; sometimes there is only a single window, sometimes two below and one above, of which arrangement a very plain, though good, example occurs at Barming, near Maidstone. In Normandy the apse is more prevalent in parochial buildings than in England, but still is not universal.

In large churches, the apse was by no means confined to the east end of the chancel, but is frequently attached to the eastern faces of the transepts. The article "Apsé," in the Glossary, mentions two churches at Falaise as having western apses, and one at Angers as having both sides occupied by a series of semi-circular apses.

The lateral arrangements of great churches do not present much variety, having little else, either in the aisles or the clerestory, than rows of windows between pilasters. The nave is of course almost always furnished with aisles, which are usually narrow in proportion; the choir has commonly aisles, though less universally; in their application to the transepts there is much variety. The clerestory is almost universal in large churches; Cheux, in Normandy, has a triple chancel with distinct gables, and is a fine example of that arrangement.

Norman parochial churches in England exhibit several plans; their original outline is rarely preserved, and the most unaltered specimens are usually of small size. But few perfect cross churches remain; though the existing remains are amply sufficient to prove that this form was more commonly employed for small buildings at this period than in later days. In some of the finest instances, as at Iffley, Cassington, and Stewkeley, a central tower is placed between the constructive chancel and the nave, without either aisles or transepts. That many Norman churches had aisles is plain from the numerous internal arcades which remain, even when the external walls have been rebuilt; but even cruciform churches were often without them; Porchester in Hampshire is well known as an excellent example. Small churches with aisles seem to have commonly been without

clerestories, but St. Peter's, Northampton, and St. Margaret's-at-cliff, near Dover,¹ retain beautiful examples of that feature.

The position of Norman towers in large churches has been already described. The only exception in England to the general rule is Exeter cathedral, whose two Norman towers form the transepts of the present fabric. It has however been doubted whether this was their original destination, and it has been supposed that they were originally western towers, and that the church has been prolonged westwards. But even as western towers, they would have been anomalous, as projecting beyond the line of the aisles. Both central and western towers are in most cases comparatively plain up to the ridge of the roof, but the part that stands free is richly decorated with arcades, pierced at intervals for windows, two being sometimes grouped under one arch, though this is less common in central towers. Winchester cathedral has a noble example of a central steeple rising only one stage above the roof; Southwell has a somewhat taller one, but still remarkable, even among structures of its own date, for its immense breadth and massiveness. That of St. Alban's, on the contrary, is of much greater height than usual, in conformity with the Saxon character of that church.

Western towers, as standing so much more detached from the main building, have a lighter appearance than those that are central, but they do not often rise actually higher in proportion. They are therefore in fact, allowing for their smaller width, a little lower than the central, but even if they are of equal height, the greater bulk of the latter preserves to it its due predominance. The grouping and proportion of the three towers of Southwell Minster could hardly be surpassed, though as scarcely any other church retains three unaltered Norman towers, it is hardly fair to put it into a competition where it can meet with no rival.

Our own Norman towers in small churches are usually either central or western according to the nature of the building. Of central towers in cross churches, Castor, near Peterborough, is a fine example, the whole surface being covered with ornamental mouldings; that at East Meon, in Hampshire, has two low stages, the lower containing three round-headed windows, the

¹ Petit, ii. 106.

upper three circular ones. Of towers at the west end, one of the most remarkable is that of St. Peter's, Northampton. Here the Romanesque portion rises no higher than the roof line, the upper story being of later date, but it may have supplanted a Norman stage, especially as the existing portion supplies no belfry-stage, or belfry windows at all. There are some very extraordinary buttresses at the western angles, in the form of clustered shafts, which are continued in the later superstructure. The whole is sumptuously enriched with arcades and other ornaments; a decorative arch is formed on the west wall by broad rows of flat surface mouldings in a very singular manner. The richer towers have arcades, or groups of windows, as in several of those just mentioned; in plain examples the lower windows are little more than loopholes; the belfry stage has most commonly two lights grouped under a containing arch. Mr. Cotman gives two fine examples of Norman towers at the side. That at Tamer-ville is square at the base, but octagonal during the greater part of its height, which is greater than usual.

The shape of this example is rare, as Norman towers, especially in large churches, are, in remarkable contrast to the varied forms of the German Romanesque, almost invariably square. The octagonal terminations of the western towers of Jumieges Abbey are an exception, but this church, as both Dr. Whewell¹ and Mr. Petit² remark, "has many features rather of a German than a Norman character," and these tall slender towers certainly resemble more nearly Laach and Worms, than Southwell and St. George Bocherville. The octagonal lantern of the Rhenish churches has a noble substitute in the heavy central tower, whose square shape is evidently better adapted to the intersection of four arms. And in smaller buildings, with one remarkable class of exceptions, deviations from the square form are equally uncommon.³ These are the towers found in Norfolk and Suffolk, and occasionally elsewhere, which are built in a round form, evidently to save the ashlar which would otherwise have been re-

¹ German Churches, p. 281.

² I. 94.

³ This of course does not exclude a few occasional anomalies, as the

octagonal stage in the ruined tower at Swaffham Priors, (Petit, ii. 21,) and the extraordinary hexagonal tower at Swindon.

quired for the quoins. A few are perhaps earlier,¹ and a few later, but most of them are of Norman date.

The capping of towers in this style is a very interesting subject, the more so as in this country the original terminations have been so generally destroyed to make room for the embattled parapet. From the evidence of ancient representations, and the analogy of continental structures, it would seem probable that our Norman, as well as our Saxon towers, were originally covered with hanging roofs of stone, or more commonly of timber. These, like the German examples, vary from a low pyramid of four sides to a lofty spire. The former sometimes remains, or has at least been replaced by one of the same design, as in the central tower at Porchester. In Normandy they are found of every pitch, both of stone and timber, gradually swelling into quadrangular spires, which are common in Jersey. The towers of Haute Allemagne and of St. Michael at Caen have stone roofs exemplifying the transition, the latter being a genuine spire with spire lights, but as low as a spire can be; while Haute Allemagne, which is more strictly a high roof, has but a very small opening. The octagonal towers at Jumieges and Tamer-ville are finished in an analogous manner. A wooden spire, square at the base, but immediately becoming octagonal, is common abroad; such an one exists at East Meon.² The gabled tower of the German churches does not seem to occur; but we meet with the form usually called a saddle-back, in which the tower is treated like any other part of the church, and finished with an east and west gable, and a ridge between them. Nor is the fully developed octagonal spire excluded; the upper stages of the western towers of St. Stephen's Abbey were added in the last days of Romanesque, and their richness contrasts wonderfully with the plain work below; care however seems to be taken not to render the transition too violent, by the insertion of a story—that ranging with the gable of the nave—of an intermediate character as to decoration. The towers rise two complete stages above the roof, and are crowned with rich octagonal spires. The northern one is still Romanesque, with tall and rich octagonal turrets with pinnacles rising from the angles; the southern,

¹ Paley's Gothic Architecture, p. 43.

² Petit, li. 111.

with some diversities in their arrangement, presents the same general aspect, but belongs to an early stage of Gothic. A Norman octagonal spire of stone, preserving the same main outline, but of course on a much smaller and plainer scale, crowns the tower of St. Mary's church in Jersey. The use of the embattled and pinnacled tower is undoubtedly one of our many insular peculiarities, and its complete development is of much later date. Yet it may be doubted whether its origin cannot be traced even to this early period. The towers of Southwell, it is well known, were formerly crowned with spires—I know not of what date or style, as the plates in Dugdale can hardly be considered evidence—still they are manifestly complete without them, which few foreign towers would be. The parapet and pinnacles furnish a satisfactory termination which the Continental examples do not supply; the magnificent pinnacles at St. Stephen's exist only for the sake of the spires, and would be intolerable as mere terminations to a tower.

To turn to the interior features of Norman churches, we shall find the threefold horizontal division of arcade, triforium, and clerestory occurring in the best specimens of great churches; and even where the triforium is omitted, there is not usually that wide unoccupied space which offends the eye in some of the German churches. The composition is usually very effective, and the parts well fitted and harmonized to each other. In fact a long row of Norman arches, tier upon tier, as in the naves of our vast Romanesque cathedrals, is one of the most striking and solemn objects that architecture has ever produced. There are however some important diversities to be observed between the usual type of a French and English church. The most remarkable is to be found in the shape of the piers. The variety of form and proportion allowed to this feature is exceedingly great, and will be found to include almost every phase which the two great classes, the rectangular and the columnar, can afford. The square pier without farther ornament is rare; it occurs in a slightly modified form in the Abbey of Jumieges, having merely half columns attached: these alternate with columns of considerable height. Rectangular piers of several orders, with shafts attached to the faces, or inserted in the angles, are frequent in the churches of Normandy, but are less commonly met with in

England. It is treating the pier arch on the principle of a doorway, and tends to give the bay an unity in itself, which the column, as belonging equally to two arches, cannot give. It thus promotes vertical effect, and may so far be considered as a dim foreshadowing of Gothic; wherever the columnar pier is used, the horizontal division decidedly predominates over the vertical, and the building cannot be so well divided into bays.

The columnar pier is common in the smaller buildings of Normandy, and appears not unfrequently in great churches, but usually in a more light and graceful form than those to which we are accustomed in our own cathedrals. The latter have generally enormous cylindrical piers—sometimes plain, sometimes enriched with vertical or zigzag fluting—the vast bulk of which is truly astonishing. These form one of the main distinctions between English and foreign churches. Not however, as Mr. Knight seems to suppose, “from that having been the Saxon manner of imitating the Roman.”¹ We have seen that the Saxon pier was probably rectangular; and in the great Norman church which retains the greatest traces of Saxon character, St. Alban’s, we find vast rectangular piers of several orders, without shaft or ornament. Mr. Knight proceeds to mention “the inexpertness of workmen” as another cause. This may have had some influence at the first introduction of the style—this kind of pier occurs even in King Harold’s church at Waltham—as the square pier undoubtedly requires far more decoration and more skilful workmanship to render it a satisfactory feature. This would fully account for its employment in the early days of the style in England; and as the art advanced, architects may have chosen to elaborate and develop the form to which they were attached in preference to introducing its rival. The short and heavy proportions of these piers have drawn on them much unfavourable criticism from the adherents to classical proportions. The rule for obtaining the most appropriate proportion for a Romanesque *column* has been already given. But how far even this is applicable to the vast cylindrical piers of Malvern and Southwell is another question. Are they in any proper sense *columns* at all? And if not, can they be rightly arraigned for want of

¹ Tour in Normandy, p. 229.

due columnar proportions? In Mr. Paley's words,¹ "the thickness of the piers only gives the notion of an isolated piece of wall." This exactly expresses their true character; they are of precisely the same nature as the square pier, the cylindrical form being employed instead of the rectangular. In this view, it can hardly be denied that they are a great improvement, as the square pier in its simplest form is decidedly ugly, and even when recessed, it remains rude and meagre; it requires decorative shafts to give it any degree of architectural propriety. But the vast cylindrical pier is always satisfactory. And that this is their true nature further appears from another consideration. The application of a round abacus to a decorative shaft or a detached column is justly considered as one of the most important steps towards Gothic. But in these heavy piers it occurs from the earliest times, where there is no other mark of transition; and, what is of more importance, its occurrence in this position does not produce the least degree of that vertical effect to which it so strongly contributes when employed elsewhere. The fact is that it is not an abacus, not a capital, in any proper sense, but a mere impost, which, as the pier is round, is naturally round also, with as much propriety as a rectangular impost to a rectangular pier. The best examples have no attempt at a real capital. The noble piers at Great Malvern have merely a few mouldings, those at Southwell have little more; the impost does not overlap like a genuine square abacus, nor is there usually anything like space for a real capital of foliage or any other kind; such an one is at once felt to be incongruous. When it occurs with a square abacus, as by an excusable confusion of ideas is sometimes found, the objection really applies; instead of a cylindrical pier it has become a column, and, as a column, its want of due proportion is immediately felt. An immense unbroken abacus of this kind has a very unsatisfactory effect, and when, as is sometimes the case, it is cut up into four or more imperfect abaci, though the unpleasant heaviness is removed, it appears open to the charge of unreality, as we naturally look for the shafts corresponding to each.

These massive cylindrical piers must, to carry out their own idea, be low, about the proportion of the square pier which they

¹ Gothic Architecture, p. 86.

replace. "Norman piers," says Mr. Paley,¹ "are not always low; they are sometimes of almost extravagant height." At Gloucester and Tewkesbury the piers, which, in proportion to the width of the arches, are very massive, are, in proportion to the other parts of the elevation, of decidedly extravagant height; they reduce the triforium to complete insignificance. This is a great fault; but we might conceive the nave being of much loftier elevation, so as to allow due size to the triforium. Still these piers are in themselves unsatisfactory; they are of a height of which no one would build a plain square pier, and consequently not a cylindrical one of this kind; their proportion is suited only to the clustered form. They are neither columns, nor clusters, nor legitimate cylindrical piers, but are totally unsatisfactory, and, independently of inharmonious alterations, render the nave of Gloucester Cathedral positively unpleasing. The old arrangements of the choir can still be discerned through the airy network of Perpendicular panelling which is woven over it; here we have the low pier and large triforium, and the effect, even in this partial glimpse, is incomparably superior.²

Again, how completely the English architects regarded the heavy round pillar, not as a column, but as a substitute for the square pier, is shown by the way in which, at a later period, they began to cluster their piers. This is more often effected by attaching smaller shafts to a circular than to a rectangular pier. Massive pillars formed in this way are common, and show how the two forms were felt to be identical and treated in the same manner. Indeed the two modes of formation often occur in the same range of pillars, and even in the same pillar. The immense variety of shapes which the Norman pier thus assumes is perfectly astonishing. In some instances we find two or more shafts on the same plane supporting a single abacus, the effect of

¹ Page 70.

² The piers at Durham also are perhaps somewhat too lofty, but the excess in proportion is less conspicuous, and there is a true triforium. In some of the examples where that feature is really wanting, and the clerestory appears im-

mediately above the arcade, as in what is called the Conventual church at Ely, the pier is at once taller and slenderer, and is a sort of intermediate form between the cylindrical pier and the genuine column.

which is never good. When genuine clusters of equal shafts are introduced, as in the Galilee at Durham, a most important step has been taken towards the development of Gothic.

The octagonal pier of like proportion is manifestly to be classed with the cylindrical; it is not commonly found till late in the style, and might be almost considered a transitional feature.

The semicircular arches supported by the piers are in the simplest examples perfectly square in section. The Collegiate Church of Gournay in Normandy has some of one order only, and consequently of enormous breadth, without any ornament whatsoever; but this mode of construction is so manifestly unsatisfactory when the wall is of the thickness required in a large church, that it is very rare, and the arches are generally made of two or three orders. And this seems to be the perfection of the style; they may of course be enriched to any degree by the application of surface moulding, which however is not usually found to any great extent in the pier-arches of large churches. We find instead roll-mouldings introduced at an early period of the style, and they gradually become predominant. Sometimes large roll-mouldings occupy the place of a soffit, which, when they stand alone, and are not, as is so often seen in late Norman vaulting-ribs, coupled with hollows, seems like a retention of a Saxon idea. This is very conspicuous in the early Norman nave of Christ Church, Twynham. In most of our great Norman churches of the twelfth century the pier arches will be found very much moulded; but we shall still find examples, even in decidedly transitional buildings, as Buildwas Abbey and Rothwell church, where the pure square section is retained even in conjunction with the pointed arch.

The triforium is occasionally omitted, as at Gournay, where a void space is left, greatly to the detriment of the effect; but it is generally a very important feature, being usually equal in width to the pier-arch and frequently not very much inferior to it in height. One large arch generally occupies the whole space, beneath which two, or occasionally more, smaller ones are grouped, rising commonly from a detached shaft or cluster of shafts, which sometimes, as at Peterborough, are unpleasantly slender. Most of the remarks made above with regard to the pier arches will apply equally to the triforium range; except that the bays are

commonly more distinct; the triforium is not so much a continuous arcade on pillars, as a series of independent arches cut through the wall. The columnar pier can hardly occur; and each arch is best described as rising from two responds. One reason of this is that the roof-shafts, which, even where the pier is columnar, generally spring immediately above it, effect in most cases a strong vertical division. But even where they do not occur, as at Southwell and in the choir of Norwich, a greater or less blank space is generally left between the bays.

The Holy Trinity Church at Caen is a remarkable exception to the ordinary rule of Norman triforia. There is merely a small arcade, and that without shafts, running continuously along the nave, except where it is interrupted by the vaulting-shafts.

The most common, though not universal, type of the clerestory has a single round-headed window in each bay, not splayed, and with a smaller arch on each side its rear-arch, opening into the small passage or upper triforium made in the thickness of the wall.

With regard to the roofs of Norman Minsters, the question at once arises how far vaulting over large spaces was in use during the period of the prevalence of that style. It is certain that no vaulted roof over a large space, such as the nave or choir of a Cathedral, exists in England until the Transitional period. On the other hand, as such vaulting is common in the German Romanesque, it is not unknown in Normandy. Both the great Abbeys of Caen have cellular vaulting. That at St. Stephen is complete sexpartite vaulting, at the Holy Trinity a sort of transition from quadripartite to that form. In both a bay of vaulting covers two bays of the building. These vaults are decidedly Norman, but there seems reason to believe that in neither case are they of equal antiquity with the rest of the church. This however does not prove that a stone roof may not have formed a part of the original design, as few things are more common at all times than to find preparations for vaulting which have never been carried into effect. Indeed at St. Stephen's the clerestory shows manifest indications of being designed with reference to a vaulted roof such as at present exists. We may then conclude that the absence of vaulting, which was at all times a characteristic of English churches, was more especially so during

the Norman period. In after times we find many English churches without vaulting, which in France or Germany would certainly have had a stone roof; and our country alone produced a form of timber-roof which is at least an endurable substitute for the more appropriate covering. It is almost impossible to suppose that the builders of Ely and Peterborough—naves of purely Romanesque *style*, though of Transitional *date*—were ignorant of the art of vaulting large spaces, any more than that Abbot Whethampstede was when he added the gorgeous flat ceiling to the nave of St. Alban's in the fifteenth century. It doubtless arose from some principle of taste, and perhaps an intelligible one; it may have been thought that a Romanesque nave derived an air of greater majesty and solidity from the absence of vaulting, perhaps even, as Mr. Petit suggests, of greater height. It must have been some such feeling as this which made them reject the mode of roofing adopted in other churches at the same time. That no intention of subsequent vaulting was entertained is manifest from the shafts which support the roof running up to the wall-plate.

These shafts are not universal in Norman minsters, but they are found in the greater number of the best examples, and manifestly add very much to the effect of the church, which without them has an unfinished and too horizontal air. I cannot however allow that, as Mr. Petit seems to consider, they show the Norman style to be one of transition. They seem to be required by the great law of decorative construction, which requires every member of a building to have a support satisfactory to the eye, and it is clear that a shaft is in this respect far more effectual than a mere corbel. Where the roof is vaulted they are almost necessary, and in other cases they are most assuredly a great improvement. In the nave of St. Alban's Abbey, where the shaft does not occur in the piers, the roof is consistently supported by pilasters similar to those used externally. It is probable that these shafts in most cases supported flat wooden ceilings, but no indisputable example remains, as Mr. Paley has thrown a doubt, though apparently without sufficient reason, upon the antiquity of the famous ceiling at Peterborough. The art of ornamenting the construction of open roofs was not introduced till long after, and we can hardly suppose that all our Norman cathedrals were

meant to receive no nobler covering than the barn roof over the nave of Ely, or that which, till the insertion of the present ceiling, disfigured Walkelyn's transepts at Winchester.

Vaulting however was, even in England, extensively used over smaller spaces, during the whole of the Norman period. Many noble specimens remain in the crypts of large churches, which indeed hardly admitted of any other kind of roofing. The pillars supporting it are usually, even in French churches, very low and massive, though sometimes, as at Canterbury, they almost approach to the graceful elegance of the Italian examples. Crypts, however, are by no means the only parts of churches, either large or small, which exhibit specimens of Norman vaulting. The aisles of large churches are almost always covered with plain quadripartite vaulting. In the earliest examples the groins are without ribs; these are however soon added, and gradually assume the richness of the later style, and sink into Gothic forms by a transition even more gradual and imperceptible than in the other members. The aisles of Oxford cathedral afford examples of almost every stage of this transition, though no portion appears to be of at all early date. In small churches the chancel, and the chancel alone, is often vaulted in the same manner; in both cases the vaulting usually springs from shafts.

I have thus described the principal features of the elevation of the nave or choir of a Norman minster, the piers, pier-arches, triforium, clerestory, and roof; and I have done this at greater length, because the triple division of height is most constantly observed, and comes out with the greatest prominence, in this style, which may therefore be taken as the groundwork to which to refer in describing analogous Gothic features. A few more remarks will conclude the subject of great Norman interiors.

The arches under the central towers are commonly among the most striking features of a large Norman church; the immense height of the slender shafts attached to the rectangular masses, and the strongly marked angles formed by their distinct square abaci, have a very characteristic effect. The severity and individuality of parts produced by the latter feature counteract the notion of inchoate Gothic, which the former alone might have suggested.

The central towers themselves afford in their interior some of

the most splendid specimens of Romanesque arcading and its accompanying ornaments. As the natural and legitimate successors of the dome, their chief end was the more majestic crowning of the central space, and they were consequently open at least to the level of the ridge of the roof, and sometimes through the whole height. But in most instances bells have been hung in the towers, and a roof accordingly thrown across at the level of the other roofs, to the great prejudice of the internal effect.

A perfect Norman interior is but rarely to be found among small churches, especially where there are aisles. It is not uncommon however to find portions, a single arcade for instance, where there is nothing externally to indicate a Norman date, just as on the other hand there are, as Mr. Petit remarks,¹ churches of an outline completely Norman, which on near examination possess no detail whatever of that date, and others, in which, after numerous alterations, the original effect is still preserved. The arches usually spring from columnar piers by no means so massive as in larger structures; they are almost always treated as genuine columns with a proper capital and square abacus. This is doubtless owing to the much smaller, even comparative, weight which they have to support than in great minsters, so that the square pier and its cylindrical substitute² are less frequently met with. From the same reason the arches better admit of being left in their original section, as not involving the same enormously broad soffits. They are most frequently of one order only, but sometimes of more; as a general rule they have less sectional and more surface moulding than in large churches.

The chancel arches are usually much more ornamented than the lantern arches in larger structures, whose beauty is rather derived from their bold and lofty proportions than from any great degree of enrichment. In smaller churches the piers project far more boldly, being often of many orders, so that the arch is comparatively narrow, sometimes even to a fault, as tending to cut off the chancel too completely from the nave. Every species of or-

¹ I. 110.

² Grendon church, Northamptonshire, contains a very remarkable

exception, in a row of cylindrical piers of amazing bulk.

nament is lavished on these arches, all the immense variety of mouldings and enrichments afforded by the style adorn the arch itself; and numerous shafts, often grooved and fluted in divers ways, are attached to the piers. In churches which are without aisles, these arches naturally form the chief internal source of ornament. Where there is a central tower, as at Iffley, the view of the two magnificent arches beneath it is sublime in the extreme. Others, again, are quite plain; though, as was stated above, it is by no means improbable but that some of these may be really of Saxon date.

Of the roofing of small churches we know even less than in the case of larger ones. The chancels, and the apses where they occur, are frequently vaulted, but of the covering of the nave and aisles scarcely any satisfactory examples remain. The chapel in the White Tower, if it be fair to class it here, retains its original barrel-vaulting. In most examples the roof has been completely altered, and the addition of a clerestory to so many examples renders it still more difficult to ascertain the original form. At St. Peter's, Northampton, and at Iffley, the nave would seem to have had a flat ceiling, a feature which was perhaps at all times a more frequent substitute for vaulting than is usually supposed.

The surface-mouldings of the Norman style, to which such frequent allusions have necessarily been made throughout this chapter, present an almost infinite variety, but are very easily recognized. To enter into a minute description of their details would be inconsistent with the plan of the present work, and they have been illustrated, at large by Mr. Bloxam, and in the Glossary. The most common is the chevron or zigzag, which is applied in the utmost profusion to almost every feature of Norman architecture. The beak-head is commonly employed to grasp, as it were, one of the heavy roll-mouldings of the style; in an example at St. Cross it developes into the complete form of a bird.

On no portion of a church are these ornaments lavished to a greater excess than on the doorways, which are often of most sumptuous character, and are in very many instances preserved in churches where every other vestige of the Romanesque fabric has completely perished. They usually recede several times, and all the orders but the inner one are most frequently sup-

ported by a shaft. The arch-mouldings and the spaces between the shafts are decorated with all the richest ornaments of the style. In some instances the shafts are omitted, and all the orders and their mouldings are continuous from the ground.

The richest doorways are universally allowed to be found in England, though many fine examples will be seen in Mr. Cotman's work. The tympanum often occurs, as in the west front of St. Stephen's, where it has more the character of a square doorway under a round arch than in the English examples, where in most cases it is essentially a stone in the head of a round-arched doorway. The superb western portal at Rochester Cathedral is by far the finest example of this kind, if not the finest of all Norman doorways. The transom supporting the tympanum is not always straight.

The windows were comparatively small, yet in large buildings they sometimes attain a positive size sufficient to allow of the subsequent insertion of tracery, as may be seen at Peterborough and Romsey. They are of very different proportions, being sometimes very long and narrow, and at other times of great breadth; and they afford equal diversities in the amount of enrichment. Within, they have commonly a considerable splay, making the inner opening much higher and wider than the outer; this is less conspicuous in the larger examples. The double window grouped under a single arch, with a single shaft in the centre, and two on each side, is very characteristic of the style, and is easily to be distinguished from the analogous Saxon window. It is in fact identical with the most usual arrangement of the triforium. As the shafts and capitals render it inconvenient for the reception of glass, it is ordinarily confined to belfries. Circular windows also occur, but usually of no great size, and without tracery; examples will be found in the eastern transept at Canterbury, and the clerestory of the nave at Southwell. In these latter the inner opening is merely a round arch on shafts, and their circular form is almost lost in the interior. But their external effect cannot be considered pleasing.

The enrichment of buildings by decorative arcades is as frequent a feature in Norman structures as in the other varieties of the Romanesque family. Towers, fronts, wherever in short a blank surface needed enrichment, are covered with this

beautiful and never-failing source of ornament. Their variety is almost endless; they usually spring from shafts, but sometimes from square pilasters, and sometimes again the impost is merely continuous; the arches of course are usually round: they often intersect; a curious example occurs at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in which the intersecting arches are straight-sided. The mouldings of the arches, their proportions, and those of the shafts supporting them, afford an almost endless series of diversities.

Shafts and columns, both decorative and otherwise, are very various, and occur of almost every imaginable proportion. They are usually round, but sometimes octagonal, and are often fluted and twisted in divers ways, or again covered with the chevron or other surface mouldings. The capitals are a square block, sometimes left plain, or adorned with painting only, but more usually sculptured. The cushion capital is the simplest, and perhaps the most common form, but imitations of the Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite capitals also occur, and also many forms of foliage which cannot be considered as even an attempt at any of them. Fret or basket-work, representations of men and animals in divers attitudes, the signs of the zodiac, historical or legendary compositions, are also common; the sagittary, or mounted archer, the badge of King Stephen, is not unfrequently met with in examples of his reign. The abacus is commonly square; early in the style it is very heavy, with merely its under surface chamfered off; afterwards it becomes lighter, and its section more complicated; it is not unfrequently found with its surface richly sculptured. The square abacus is a most characteristic feature, and one retained longer than any other, as the massive cylindrical piers, which might be cited to the contrary, have been shown not to be a real exception. Nothing is more common than for the abacus to be continued as a string. The base has usually a few mouldings following the form of the shaft, set on a square plinth: an ornament like a tongue, a piece of foliage, sometimes an animal crushed by the pillar, often fills up the angles, and always has a good effect.

Such are the principal features of our venerable Norman churches; the general merits of the style will be discussed hereafter, but enough has been said to show that no age has pro-

duced structures whose number, size, splendour, and richness bear more honourable testimony to the zeal and bounty of their founders.¹

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF LATIN ARCHITECTURE IN THE EAST.

WHILE the influence of Byzantine art so powerfully affected the architecture of Western Christendom, not only in the provinces of Italy which so long formed, or professed to form, a portion of the Eastern Empire, but in the more distant regions of Germany and even France; there is little reason to doubt that the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, and the intimate connection of the Venetians with the East both before and after that great

¹ As the series of Romanesque styles terminates here, I will add a brief account of an interesting class of churches which exhibit the treatment of that style when applied to an unwonted material. These are the wooden churches of Norway, which exhibit an infinity of rich Runic, and sometimes distinctively Romanesque and Byzantine carving. The interiors, in two instances, Borgund and Urnes, are evidently imitated from stone churches, having arches, and a waggon roof, constructions which would hardly appear in an original timber architecture. Though even here the arches are not laid on the pillars, but rise from their sides, while the pillars themselves rise up and support the string, if we may so call it, above. In a third, at Hitterdal, the greater beauty of these forms is sacrificed to the natural treatment of the material, and the flat roof is simply laid on the pillars, being a complete return to the Grecian hut.

The exteriors are very singular, and have somewhat of a Chinese aspect; a cloister runs round the lowest stage, above which rise the aisles and clerestory, crowned with a sort of square louvre. As all these parts have high roofs and gables, soaring over each other, the effect is most curious, the whole church seeming to rise pyramidally to an apex. In fact this outline, though totally different in effect, is closely analogous to the similar centre of unity given by the Byzantine cupola. The detached tower at Urnes is a truncated pyramidal structure, with a gable of sharper pitch resting on an open arcade. The peculiar outline of this church is much less strongly marked than in the other two. See a fuller description in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society for Michaelmas Term, 1843, communicated by the Rev. J. L. Patterson, M.A., Trinity College.

event, tended in return considerably to modify the traditional type of the Byzantine churches by an infusion of western ideas. The change was in some respects an approximation not only to Latin, but to Gothic architecture, and the period of its duration actually embraces the whole time during which that style prevailed. But though the western element in the later Byzantine erections is sufficiently extensive to deserve a separate notice, it was never so strong as to remove any native structure—for actual Gothic churches were in some instances erected by the crusaders—out of the great Romanesque family. A few pointed arches, not affecting the main features of the building, do not constitute a Gothic edifice.

In the Byzantine architecture of this period, as described by M. Couchaud, we find the plan approach somewhat to the plan of the Latin Basilicas; and in the façades the inclinations of the roofs are indicated by gables. But where this external influence is especially perceptible, is in the profusion and richness of the ornaments which accompany the different architectural details. Barrel-vaults prevail throughout the whole length of the building; the windows are filled with tablets of stone or marble pierced with circular holes; and the jambs of the doors become of more elaborate workmanship. This last period, which the author formally terminates at the conquest of Greece by the Turks, he considers as in some sense still prolonged by several centuries, up to the moment of the last war of independence.

M. Couchaud's engravings afford many examples of this kind, especially among the churches of Athens: one, that of Kapnicarea, has a long heavy façade, with four low gables, quite unlike the genuine Byzantine forms. St. John, in the same city, has the basilican plan without any cupola, and instead of an apse has a square projection; most of the arches are pointed, which is not the case in the other. At Chalcis in Eubœa is a good double pointed window, with moulded jambs, and divided by a shaft. The city of Mistra, near the ancient Sparta, was founded, according to M. Couchaud, in 1207, and, as might naturally be expected, contains much of this mixed style. The Church of the Virgin is a fine pile, of a general outline thoroughly Byzantine, with a central cupola and smaller ones clustering round it, and most of the constructive arches round, including those of a fine open portico, a complete translation of the old Grecian portico into the lan-

guage of an arched style. Over these arches, however, as well as in other parts of the building, gables occur. The ground-plan, though allowing of domes, is longer than the usual Oriental type. In the apses there are pointed arches of decoration. A tower, probably as being a Western feature, is treated with less regard to Byzantine precedent than the rest of the church, being gabled, with heavy pinnacles at the angles, but finally crowned with a pointed cupola. The windows of this tower even exhibit some faint approaches to tracery. In the ramparts of *Mistra* we find both the pointed and the round arch ; and the trefoiled spherical triangle in the windows. A chapel at *Andronosa* in *Peloponnesus* is a mere oblong with an apse, there is no dome or tower, but a bell-gable at one side ; both round and pointed arches occur.¹

The church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, rebuilt after its destruction by the Caliph *Hakem* in the eleventh century, is cited by Mr. Hope as an example of the Lombard—i.e. Romanesque—style, but might perhaps rather be considered Byzantine with some mixture of Western and Arabian ideas. It consists of two parts, a round church of the usual form with an aisle and cupola, open at the top, to the east of which, instead of the chancel attached to western buildings of this kind, is a complete church in the form of a Greek cross, with a pointed dome of considerable elevation. There is no other cupola except over one of the small chapels which crowd round the main fabric, both filling up the angles of the cross and stretching beyond it. There is only a single apse, though several small apsidal projections radiate from it. The details are mixed ; the shaft supporting an entablature appears as an external ornament in the drum of the central dome and in the apse ; the quatrefoil is a

¹ In *Dodwell's* engravings of *Pelagic* remains a small church at *Delphi* is incidentally introduced (having part of its walls formed by a Cyclopean ruin) which approaches yet more nearly to the architecture of Western Europe. It appears to have aisles and yet the whole is comprised under a single low gable, with a single semicircular apse, and

an octagonal tower rising from the centre, which has, externally at least, no dome, but the low conical roof of the Romanesque style. The windows are all round-headed, very small, except those in the tower, and a double one in the apse. There is no appearance of arcades or other mural decoration.

frequently recurring decoration, and the apse is finished with a battlement of Saracenic character. The pointed arch seems to occur only in the campanile, which stands to the south-west, and in some adjoining buildings. This tower, with its buttresses, arcades, and windows, quite corresponds with the early Gothic of Western Europe, and must be a later addition. The windows in the rest of the church are small and round-headed, and the coupled window seems not to occur.

CHAPTER XIV.

GENERAL REVIEW OF ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE.

Is Romanesque architecture a perfect or an imperfect style? This is one of the most interesting and important questions within the whole scope of the science, and its due consideration will require considerable attention, as several others may at first sight seem involved in it, which must be carefully distinguished from the real point at issue, which in fact they only serve to confuse.

First then, the question has no connection with one which may be raised, whether Romanesque is a fit style for adoption at the present day. Pure Grecian is as perfect a style, as pure and complete a decoration of a certain construction, as can be imagined, yet it is manifestly unfit for our adoption. Yet as this confessedly does not hinder Grecian from being a perfect style, so neither can it hinder Romanesque.

Secondly, theories as to the preservation or destruction of ancient buildings have still less connection with the question. The "Conservative" would preserve Romanesque, though he considered it imperfect; the "Destructive," though he considered it perfect in its kind, would replace it by something which he held to be of a higher kind.

Thirdly, by asserting a style to be perfect, we do not assert that it is either mechanically, æsthetically, or morally, the best that has been produced. It may be the worst in all three respects, and yet be the legitimate adorning of a certain construction, and

the expression of a certain idea. The construction may be mechanically contemptible, the decoration meagre, the idea poor and worthless, yet the style is still perfect in its own kind.

Fourthly, the merit of existing specimens does not affect the question. Ideal perfection cannot be reached by any human skill, nor are we bound to suppose that the nearest possible approaches to it have been already made. Whatever building any one looks upon as the nearest existing approximation, there are probably respects in which he considers some other as superior to it. And the *degree* of failure can make no difference. We may conceive that Grecian and Gothic buildings exist, which are a more perfect expression of their respective ideas than any Romanesque building is of its own : and yet that such a distinct leading idea exists at which all Romanesque buildings aim. It may be true that in point of fact no period existed in which no Grecian idea remained, and no Gothic idea had been introduced, and yet that there is a Romanesque perfection, existing in idea, but in point of fact unattained, entirely distinct from both.

Fifthly, whether Romanesque be or be not truly a Christian style is equally off the question. Its Christianity does not prove it perfect ; its non-Christianity would not prove it a style in itself imperfect, but only one inapplicable for ecclesiastical purposes.

The sole question is this. Is there an ideal perfection of the round-arched construction, in the same sense as there confessedly is of the entablature and of the pointed arch ? and stripped of extraneous considerations, I can hardly conceive any difficulty being felt in the admission that there is. It may be answered that there is an ideal perfection of the arch, but that it is to be found in the Pointed style, and that the round arch is in itself imperfect. But this would be a mere arbitrary assumption ; the more philosophical process is to take the facts as we find them. The round arch does exist as a construction, it is as mechanically excellent as any other, and few would say that the form is essentially unsightly, especially as it is a portion of a figure—the circle—confessedly beautiful. Though in mechanical construction it is nearly the same as the pointed, to the eye it is completely distinct ; the notion conveyed by it is one purely its own. It has its own æsthetical character, distinct alike from the entablature and from the pointed arch.

May we not then expect that it has its appropriate style of decoration, that a certain support is most fitting for it, a certain style of moulding most in harmony with its leading notion? Now surely, without reference to association, the Romanesque system of ornament is consistent with the round arch and inconsistent with the pointed, while the Gothic forms are the reverse. In like manner the round arch harmonizes not with the soaring clustered pillar, and the pointed arch is equally out of place when supported by the massive pier. And every minor detail may be carried out in like manner. All this shows that the round arch has its appropriate treatment parallel to that of the pointed, and consequently has an ideal perfection in which this treatment shall be most completely and consistently carried out. This perfection may be altogether inferior to that of Gothic, and yet parallel to it; it may be capable of attaining an equal degree of merit in its own kind, even though that kind should be considered inferior to the other. It is plain moreover that the connection between the construction and its decoration is a true and philosophical one, not arising from mere arbitrary association; transitional specimens exist in sufficient numbers to render our eyes perfectly habituated to any degree of confusion of Romanesque and Gothic principles. Yet such intermingling is at once felt to be altogether incongruous; it is only extraneous circumstances, size, splendour, proportion, which can at all reconcile us to the inconsistent admixture of discordant elements.

The history of Romanesque, as traced in our former chapters, may seem inconsistent with the theory of its perfection, and has led both classical and Gothic exclusiveness to despise it. To the former it is a mere bungling corruption, introduced by men who knew not how to work architraves or preserve the proper proportions of columns; it is not classical, and is therefore worthless. To the latter, it is classical, and therefore worthless; it is Pagan, horizontal, at best only valuable as a groundwork on which Gothic was built up. The one cannot conceive how northern barbarians, ignorant of the principles of Vitruvius, could introduce improvements in the fine arts; to the other a round arch or an acanthus leaf appears altogether profane, and is a subject for absolute loathing. But those who allow that good architecture is not the exclusive property of any one age or

nation will perceive that a style may be neither classical nor Gothic, and yet have principles and merits of its own, distinct from both. And in this view it will appear nothing wonderful that the destroyers of the Roman power might be the improvers of Roman art. More skilful hands might have perpetuated the old system of ornament in all its incongruous splendour ; with builders who could raise the pier and turn the arch, but not measure the column and enrich the frieze, the ornamental features died away, and the mere skeleton, the unadorned construction, remained ready for more appropriate forms to be engrafted upon it. Architecture was brought back to the point which we may conceive it had gained among the ancient nations of Italy when the splendid inventions of Grecian art were first made known to them. The pier and arch stood ready for the German or Norman architect to adorn alike with the creations of his own genius, and with such of the spoils of heathendom as might be fitly pressed into the Church's service. The arch began to be recessed, its square section to be enriched with gorgeous mouldings ; the pier has the taper shaft, with its rich capital, attached to relieve the heavy mass, and to support each receding order. The column is now reduced within the limits of the small arcade, now soars uninterruptedly from the floor to the roof. The laws of classical proportion are sacrificed as only cramping the energies of the style ; but the construction which the classical architect was content to disguise now stands forth in all its majestic simplicity, its immovable solidity, its severe individuality of parts, admitting alike of the naked plainness of Jumièges and the lavish gorgeousness of Bayeux. Surely the adorning of this construction in a manner so harmonious and so splendid is as much the mark of a pure and perfect style as ought that Grecian or Gothic skill has reared, and may fairly challenge a place parallel to theirs, among the noblest developments of the art of architecture.

Many have found a stumbling-block in what is called the Pagan origin of Romanesque ; not that this can directly affect its claims to be considered a perfect style, but because it has been a fertile source of prejudice and misconception. It is clear that its claims as a creation of art must be exactly the same whether its origin be Pagan or Christian. Considered as a form of ecclesiastical

architecture it is rather, as was above shown at length, a glorious example of that leading captive all the brightest creations of heathendom in which the Church has ever delighted. The outline of the Gothic, no less than the Romanesque, Minster is but a development of the heathen Basilica; the most distinctively Gothic enrichments of Lincoln and St. Ouen's may be traced by lineal descent up to the shrines of the old idolatry. If Romanesque be of heathen parentage, so is Gothic; the latter is only a few generations further removed from the common ancestor. But what there is distinctively Pagan in Romanesque it is difficult to perceive; the grand outlines, within and without, retain no trace of heathenism; the round arch can hardly have contracted defilement under the hands of the Pagan Romans, if its pointed rival issues uncontaminated from the shrines of the impostor of Mecca; indeed it is not easy to perceive the moral pollution which attaches even to a fluted column or a Corinthian capital, while the Attic base is allowed to support the tall pillars of the purest Gothic temple. It is only the lifeless skeleton of Romanesque which is of Pagan origin, and the lifeless skeleton of Gothic is equally so; in both the life, the spirit, the animating genius of the style, is essentially Christian, bringing whatever of heathenism lurks about it into bondage to the faith. The awful majesty of Peterborough's glorious nave is as truly Christian, as far removed from the spirit of a false worship, as the matchless portico itself; the portals of Iffley and Malmsbury would stand self-closed against the entry of an idol's pomp; the spirit of the Church reigns no less supreme among their massive piers and ponderous arches, than in the unmeasured height of Amiens and the faultless grace of Lichfield; it is the Church,

"One and the same through all advancing time,"

but varying her material as well as her oral teaching, according to the internal and external condition of her children; now exhorting to firmness amidst the storms of persecution, now warning against corruption in the days of earthly triumph.

In a word, the Romanesque style, adopting the bare forms of heathen art, but giving them, under the Church's holy inspiration, a life, a harmony, and a reality which they never before possessed, is but acting in an analogous manner to the Fathers of

the early Church, when the whole scheme of the secular government of the Roman Empire, the divisions of provinces and the gradual subordination of magistracies, were taken into her system, and the seat of the civil governor became also that of the Bishop, the Primate, and the Patriarch.

It is, I should suppose, sufficiently plain to any one that a debased classical insertion is felt to be as truly incongruous, as utterly repugnant to the spirit and associations of the style, in a Norman as in a Gothic church. The hideous doorway in the north transept at Ely is as complete a stranger as if it had been cut through the superb Gothic of the choir. And yet the construction of such a doorway is identical with that of the best Norman, and the steps between them so gradual that it is impossible to draw a hard line of demarcation. The difference is not so much architectural as ecclesiastical. We at once perceive that both Romanesque and Gothic have a common element which the other does not possess; something in which they agree and harmonize together, notwithstanding the total dissimilarity of their forms. It must then be an element of a higher character than anything of mere æsthetics, and can therefore be only the moral power of Christianity brought to bear upon art, no less than upon manners, literature, and politics. The Church has marked Romanesque and Gothic alike for her own, and her influence causes them to blend more harmoniously together than forms which in a merely artistic view have a far nearer affinity.

It is probably a feeling of this kind which has made so many writers look upon Romanesque as only a sort of imperfect Gothic. He who truly honours the Christianity of art as displayed in the latter, can hardly fail to recognize its earlier and sterner development in Romanesque. On the other hand, the despiser of Gothic will usually be found to despise Romanesque yet more, as a more palpable corruption of ancient rules and forms. The two are thus classed together in the minds equally of friends and foes; Christian and Gothic, as relates to architecture, become co-extensive terms; the principles of Gothic architecture are esteemed the only ones which can be rightly applied to ecclesiastical structures. Romanesque, as possessing an affinity, but a remote one, an approach to those principles, but not their complete development, is looked on not as a distinct style, but as an

imperfect form of Gothic, containing the same elements, but in a rude and undeveloped form. And the same elements in one sense it does contain, the same great principles of reality, and the farther influence which renders both pre-eminently Christian styles. Hence their general outlines will be the same, as being affected by the great laws of ecclesiastical arrangement, operating both through their immediate requirements, and through that more indirect influence which at once stamps every church conceived in a truly ecclesiastical spirit as a member of the same great family, amidst the countless diversities of merely artistic features.

But as mere styles of architecture the two are essentially distinct; the Romanesque is the development of the round-arched construction, and as such has totally different principles from Gothic, the development of the pointed. While the whole soul of Gothic architecture is the vertical line, and while the horizontal stands in a like relation to that of Greece, the distinguishing feature of Romanesque is that neither is allowed to obtain a marked predominance. The other two imply extension, almost motion, in their respective directions; the Gothic minster seems absolutely to rise from the ground, the Grecian temple seems to stretch away to some distant point of the horizon. But in Romanesque the great characters are rest and solidity, an enduring and immoveable firmness, which seems inconsistent with any very strong carrying out of either of the other notions. The eye is neither carried up an infinite series of vertical lines, nor yet does it run along the long line of entablature; it rests on the supporting piers and supported arches, not growing out of their support as in the arborescent Gothic, not laid on them as something distinct, like the long beam of the entablature; neither idea comes out forcibly; the arch simply exists in its immoveable firmness, resting on its support, without raising any inquiries as to how it came there. All this is the natural character of the round arch; channel it with the continuous mouldings of the pointed, or place it on the gracefully clustered shaft, and its own purity is gone, without its acquiring the distinct and opposite purity of the other forms. It desiderates its own square section, and its own massive pier.

It is to this predominant idea of rest and solidity, so carefully excluding whatever may disturb it, that the details of Roman-

esque may be traced. Every feature must be solid, and furnished with its due support ; the parts must retain a strongly-marked individuality, so that each may of itself be sufficient to arrest the eye, and not be a mere link in a horizontal or vertical series. The light and airy character of Gothic is therefore a total stranger to its predecessor ; the former endeavours to render the supporting masses as slight as is consistent with real and apparent security, it connects every part with every other, and fuses all into one harmonious whole. Romanesque on the other hand delights in the appearance of strength afforded by the massive pier and round arch, and the vast unbuttressed wall. The use of buttresses seems a confession that the wall alone would be insufficient ; their absence in a style where real insecurity cannot be imagined seems to arise from a consciousness of inherent strength. All the parts retain their separate existence ; the pier of every form has a strongly marked impost or capital ; the compound pier is not fused into one composition, like the fully developed cluster, but at most has independent shafts attached as something extraneous ; and each of these has its own well defined boundary in the square abacus. The square section, it is clear, brings the arch, as a distinct feature, far more forcibly upon the eye ; it at once shows more plainly its construction, hinders the continuity of the Gothic architrave, and retains a separate existence for each of its orders. And the same principle will be found carried out in the triforium, the clerestory, and all the other features of the building ; all remain distinct, there is no attempt at subordination of parts to more comprehensive parts or to the whole, or at making one fit into another. Rest and immobility are the ideas impressed upon every stone.

And that these are ideas whose material expression is no mean work of intellect, and that the style in which they are realized must be one of exceeding merit, will be clear to any one who will attentively consider the subject, without reference to a fixed standard either of Grecian or Gothic excellence. Such an inquirer cannot fail to confess that Romanesque is not an imperfect Gothic, but a distinct form of Christian architecture, with its own principles, its own beauties, its own moral teaching ; and so far from being a corrupted Roman, it is the full development of a con-

struction which Rome did but disfigure and disguise ; a style to which her most sumptuous edifices were but a step, an imperfect and bungling transition.

We will now proceed to look briefly at the different forms of Romanesque as more fully described above, and consider how far each approaches to a complete carrying out of the general idea of the style. All of these present a remarkable agreement in several points, the shortening of the columnar pier, the introduction of its rectangular substitute, the discarding of the entablature from any prominent position ; to which most of them add the formation of compound piers and arches, and the indefinite prolongation of decorative shafts. And it is singular that the several national forms are far more readily distinguished by their peculiarities of outline and arrangement, than by any purely architectural features. Their details would probably be found to be more closely identical than those of contemporary Gothic styles in different countries, while, widely different as are the outlines of an English and a French cathedral, there is not the same utter dissimilarity as exists in this respect between the different forms of Romanesque.

Basilican architecture can maintain only a dubious claim to the title of Romanesque ; it has indeed got rid of the actual entablature, but ideas derived from it are perpetually thrusting themselves forward. The ornaments are classical, the pillars retain proportions designed for the entablature, but too lofty for their position as the members of an arcade. It is still Roman rather than Romanesque, it is still a transition, though in a very advanced stage ; the chief inconsistencies of the earlier stages have departed, but the style is still feeble and lifeless, and no attempt has yet been made to provide an appropriate form of ornament.

The splendid conceptions of Byzantine art, like the empire in which they originated, stand by themselves, in utter distinction from the grouping and outline prevalent in the rest of Christendom. The one centres everything on the majestic crown of the cupola, and thus renders the rest flat, square, and heavy ; the Western church, amid all its various forms, everywhere preserves the long, narrow, lofty, nave and aisles as its principal feature. Hence Byzantine architecture, which otherwise is as truly Roman-

esque as any other, seems quite cut off from the other branches of that family, and possesses a distinct character of its own. The dome is excluded from most forms of Romanesque, and, I am persuaded, from Gothic¹ also, not as inconsistent with the style, but as inconsistent with the traditional notion of a church. Such a centre, whose tendency is to make itself the one predominant feature and throw the rest of the building into complete subordination, would be inconsistent with the length and prominence which the western architects delighted to give to their sumptuous naves and choirs. The dome cannot be made, like the central tower, merely the first feature among many; it is essentially the whole, the centre and keystone on which everything else depends.

Hence we find the dome sinking by degrees into the square central tower, whenever the long ground-plan, derived from the basilica, was retained. The octagon of the Lombard and German styles is a transition between the two, and it is remarkable how gradually that more domical form loses its predominance; the square tower is common in Germany, in Normandy and England universal. The latter provides a central point to which the other portions are to a certain extent subordinate, but still retain their existence and importance, and are not utterly swallowed up in the overwhelming greatness of a single feature.

The Lombard is the first which can be called a genuine Romanesque style; all the great features of the building, internally at least, begin to be designed according to Romanesque principles, and yet even within there is something which shows that they are not fully carried out. And without they are still more imperfect; their flat, unvaried outlines have little or no grouping or picturesque effect. Still, even as to the exterior, architecture owes much to the Lombard architects; they at once grasped the true manner of decorating plain surfaces, and they added that germ of all that is grand and beautiful, the Campanile. Distinctively Lombard buildings, those where there is no deliberate return to the Roman models, present a Romanesque pure but

¹ A Gothic dome would of course thus be, like that of Florence, even be octagonal, like those of the more easily introduced at the cross-German Romanesque, and would ing.

not perfect, a wonderful advance on preceding structures, but still affording great scope for the genius of development to work upon.

The Byzantine and Lombard styles may be considered as parallel developments, the one working on the domical, the other on the basilican form of churches. This shows how much more the divisions rest upon outline than upon detail, not that differences in the latter do not exist or are unimportant, but that the others thrust themselves much more forcibly upon the mind.

The German Romanesque seems to be the full carrying out of the Lombard idea. Between this and the Norman must ever rest the claim of the nearest approach to ideal perfection; the Provençal, deeply interesting as it is on other grounds, can hardly for a moment be put into competition with either. The origin of the Norman style is uncertain; such early specimens as Jumièges approximate to the German, and might lead us to consider it an offshoot of the latter; but it seems more natural to suppose that it was developed, like the Provençal, mainly from the antecedent Romanesque of northern France, of which few or no specimens now remain. Its boldness and vigour it owes to the inborn genius of the conquering race who brought it to perfection, and disdained the classical shackles which confined the Lombard and the Provençal builders. Looking to the respective outlines of the German and Norman buildings, the superiority of the former in mere picturesque effect and variety of outline is at once manifest; Southwell and St. George Bocherville, even did the former retain its roofs and spires, can hardly compete with the wonderful grouping and shifting of Laach or the Apostles' Church. Yet it may be doubted whether the Norman outline is not after all, though less rich and varied, more satisfactory even to the eye. The complete German type has two octagons and four towers, or four towers only, all pretty much of the same height, and forming two groups balancing each other; there is no centre, no one point of unity around which the other portions of the building circle. In the Norman outline there is no such distracting equality; the tower at the crossing forms at once a centre of unity, while the western towers rising above the rest of the church, and themselves subordinate to the central, produce by their combina-

tion with it, a pyramidal outline of the greatest beauty. The numerous small towers of the German outline are replaced on the one hand by the more commanding steeples flanking the west front, on the other by the smaller turrets which mark the apse and transepts. Taking in more purely ecclesiastical considerations, the double choir, upon which the German outline depends, is altogether at variance with our notions of church arrangement both ritual and æsthetical. The idea of a church of any date or style seems to imply a western portal and an eastern altar; the double choir and apse both destroys the majesty of a western entrance, and leaves it uncertain which is the east and which is the west end. It precludes the cross form and the legitimate chancel from that prominence which they always possess even in case of the shortest Norman choir. Within, that glorious feature, the triforium, assumes in the Norman style the importance which it lacks in the German, and there is more unity in the lateral elevations. The pier receives greater variety and capability; while the column and the rectangular pier are retained, the massive cylindrical pillar is also introduced. The use of the shaft is more fully developed, and we less commonly find flat surfaces treated as columns or pilasters. If the Norman must yield in any point, it is in its frequent lack of vaulting; and yet, after all, it may be doubted whether the flat roof is not at least as much in harmony with the solidity and individuality of the style.

In speaking of German outlines I of course refer to that which is at once most distinctively German, and employed in the most remarkable buildings of the style. Many, as we have seen, approach much nearer to the Norman outline, having the predominant central tower; but the question is, how far the latter is preferable, and consequently how far the Norman architects judged rightly in employing it to the exclusion of the other.

We may then consider the Norman style as the most perfect and fully developed form of Romanesque, one, in idea, presenting no transition to its more glorious successor. A pagan block vivified by the breath of the Church, casting off its heathen trammels, accepting her yoke, and answering all her requirements of size and splendour and solemnity, Romanesque is the first-born of Christian art; the language of her earliest days of triumph, the first glorious offering of that northern race which

she won to her fold to be the boldest defenders of her cause, alike with the pen of the divine and the battle-axe of the Crusader.

At this point, having traced ecclesiastical architecture to its first stage of perfection, the first point at which it became the complete development of an idea artistic and moral, we may not inaptly pause to consider the moral teaching of this its first and magnificent creation, as compared with the lessons taught by it in other days, and by means of a yet more glorious style. I have all along endeavoured to show that Romanesque is as truly, and in as strict a sense, a Christian architecture as Gothic itself; the difference being that they are respectively the language of the Church at distinct periods, and under distinct circumstances. The one is the type of the domination of the mighty people whose name it bears, the other the pure, the glorious, the peculiar heritage of our own northern race. The one is the type of the Church imperfectly recognized and developed, cramped in her energies equally from within and from without, the language of an age of martyrs and confessors, when the moral lesson required, and set forth in its massive walls and piers seemingly beyond human power to overthrow, was a warning against despondency in days of affliction, a living teaching of the everlastingness of the Church on earth so long as the world itself remains. The other is the language of the Church, when she throws off her mourning, and going forth in triumph over her persecutors, arrays herself with a victor's wreath of the fairest foliage; then was the lesson needed, and set forth in the tall shaft, the soaring arch, the airy spire, not to be corrupted by prosperity, not to rest in a worldly triumph, but to rise in all things heavenward. Cold must be his heart or warped by prejudice indeed, who can walk under the soaring vaults of Canterbury or Westminster, and gaze on column, arch, and window, alike pointing heavenward, without feeling under the influence of a moral spell, "a petrified teaching," bidding him "in heart and mind thither ascend;" or who can gaze on the

"Massive arches broad and round
Which rise alternate, row on row,
From ponderous columns short and low,"

and not see wrought into the very stone the promise of his LORD that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against" His Church.

Now, bearing in mind that architectural peculiarities may be reasonably expected to survive the religious or political circumstances in which they had their first origin, let us see how far the condition of Europe during the respective periods of Romanesque and Gothic architecture justifies the view given just above of their symbolical teaching.

During the Romanesque period then, the influence of Rome still remained paramount. Politically enslaved, her moral power, her system of civilization, yet remained; that is, whatever traces of civilization yet existed were fragments of the old state of things. The system of chivalrous and feudal Europe was not yet developed; the Northern tribes, politically conquerors, had not arrived at an intellectual supremacy, but in arts, and laws, and all that enlighten and humanize the mind, were content to be the followers of those over whom they bore sway. We have seen how studiously the idea of a Roman Empire was still kept up, and not without a show of reality, under the Carlovingian and Saxon Cæsars; and the Civil Law, the inheritance of all Europe, shows how deeply the moral power of Rome was impressed on her conquerors. Much of Europe was still pagan; during a long portion of this period the Church among many Teutonic nations retained a missionary aspect; and even in Christian countries the Church had not arrived at her full influence; finally, towards the end of the period the civil and spiritual powers came into open collision, the dispute on investitures roused Europe to its very centre, and the war-cry of the Cæsar was met with the thunder of the Pontiff's spiritual arms.

But the fully developed mediæval spirit is that of the Church triumphant over the world in its own strong-holds; not so much that of the hermit or ascetic forsaking it, as rendering it subservient to its own purposes. It equally invests what is naturally temporal with a sacred, and what is sacred with a temporal character; it brings religion into ordinary and worldly matters; it uses for its every-day salutation a benediction which to modern ears, might seem irreverent; it throws a sanctity over common places, relations, offices, by making them the occasion of religi-

ous ceremonies; and in return does not look on the consecrated place as profaned by the performance of secular affairs, but rather as investing them with sanctity. It is a spirit which with the one hand poured the Church's unction on the brow of the ruler, and decked his crown and sceptre with the lily and the cross, and with the other girt the Bishop and the Abbot with ensigns of earthly power, and placed the Fathers of the Church foremost in the Great Council of the land. Hence, while Roman architecture is the language of the Church in bondage, its glorious successor speaks of days when the Church had leavened the world, and, instead of missionaries labouring and dying among Pagan Danes and Saxons, sent forth from those very lands the warriors of the Cross to fight for the holiest spots of their religion. It is the artistic embodying of the spirit of northern lands and northern peoples, the soul of chivalry and romance, the days of faith, and love, and valour. It tells us not of the persecuted martyr and the lonely anchorite, but of the lordly Prelate and the consecrated knight; of Tancred and Richard grappling with the Saracen; of Wykeham chief in rank beside the throne of Edward; of Bayard dying with his latest glance fixed on his cross-handled sword. It lifts on its airy spires the once despised Cross, now triumphant over every earthly power; and marks the tomb of the great and noble, not with the memorials of a fleeting world, with signs of hopeless grief, or of extinguished existence, but with the symbols of faith and hope, the cross budding into immortality, the hand still clasped in prayer, the eye still fixed on the altar of God.

And completely to follow out this symbolism, this expression of the spirit of the age in its material works, let us forestall for a moment the melancholy time when the literature and art of our Northern blood and Christian faith had to yield to the baneful influence of a foreign and a heathen taste; an infection which was to fill our poetry with the pedantry of a mythology whose beauty its imitators understood not; which was to defile our churches with heathen idols, or with angels imitating their gestures, which for the cross, the lily, the holy legend, could only substitute the ox-scoll and garland of a pagan sacrifice. How completely the mediæval spirit of Christianizing the world had fled during the last two centuries, every book, every building,

every public act, will too abundantly bear witness. Religion had become something distinct from daily life, something confined to its own stint and bound, with its own time and place, whose limits it might not exceed, or trespass upon those of others. Exalted piety indeed remained in many cases, but as something private and esoteric, not put boldly forward as the consecrator of every action. Our expressions, whether in ordinary discourse or in graver writings, ceased to be those of Christians, unless when formally treating of religious topics; moral abstractions or heathen idols usurped the place of God and His Saints. Added to this was a spirit of unbounded contempt for every thing bearing the stamp of former days; the remains of ancient heathendom became the sole standards of literature and art; the glories of mediæval poetry and architecture, even the remembrance of the mighty deeds of old, the lofty courage, the pious humility of Godfrey, the holy fervour of Bernard, the spotless royalty of the sainted Louis, were all passed over in an indiscriminating scoff at the ignorance and superstition of the dark ages. And is not this spirit legibly impressed on the architecture of our churches of that period? in their contempt of ancient Christian precedent—first in style, then in arrangement and the imitation of heathen art alone; and above all, in the monuments of the dead, where the urn, the poppy, the inverted torch, the broken column, perchance the very idols of the heathen world, instead of the clasped hand and face of holy calmness; the long and pompous epitaph substituted for the humble prayer for mercy; all tell of a time when the spirit of the age was one that had cast the mind of former days to the winds, and had enthroned the eagle of Jove in the place of the Holy Dove.

And be it ever remembered that this style was literally raised on the ruins of the former. The first building of this class erected on a large scale in England was the palace of the destroyer of Glastonbury, itself reared out of the fragments of desecrated churches. Well might a style which could tell of no associations but those of the heathen or the infidel be inaugurated amid the plunder of God's House, out of the very ruins of His consecrated dwelling.

With such a style as this the Romanesque has no community

of feeling, and hardly any of detail ; they agree only in a construction which the one decorates, the other disguises. The revived Italian is indeed thoroughly Pagan, and is historically the deliberate expression of Pagan notions. In northern lands where it is also anti-national, the line between it and the native Romanesque is as broad as between either and Gothic. In countries where Italian art was at least indigenous, the two converge more closely to a common point. But the difference in spirit and meaning, in every thing which can give life to art, remains equally impassable. The men who reared the Basilicas of Rome, or the Lombard churches of Pavia, throwing off some Pagan fetter at every step, would have felt but little sympathy with those who deliberately re-imposed the hateful bondage upon the Mother Church of Christendom.

CHAPTER XV.

OF ARABIAN ARCHITECTURE.

I HAVE, at the expense of strict chronological arrangement, treated consecutively of all the Christian architecture of the Romanesque style and period. But in the meanwhile another form was growing up among the enemies of the Faith, which is at least of kindred origin, and which, as I shall hope to show hereafter, contained the lifeless seed, which, never destined to arrive at perfection in its native soil, grew up under more genial influence into the pillared forest of the Gothic minster. At all events, even were it without so great a claim upon our attention, the wide-spread architecture of the Mahometan nations cannot be other than an important page in the history of the art. It is curious as a Romanesque development, and perhaps even more remarkable if we look upon it as merely an accidental foreshadowing of Gothic, than if we really attribute to it the influence in the formation of that style which I am fully persuaded is its due.

But the architecture of the Saracens, valuable though it be in this historical point of view, is of very little artistic value. Its

charm consists in the excessive richness and gorgeousness of its buildings, and in the romantic associations with which we invest the Moorish conquerors of Spain and the heroes of the *Thousand and One Nights*, which make their structures seem rather like fairy palaces than the creations of men like ourselves. But considered as a real work of architecture, any second-rate production of Grecian, Romanesque, or Gothic art, must rank far above their most splendid monuments. Their splendour is mere barbaric magnificence superadded to fantastic and inconsistent forms, lifeless germs which existed for ages without developing into the features which would seem to be their natural results. A style of architecture which has possessed the pointed arch for twelve hundred years, using it systematically as a favourite form, and yet has not superadded one of the mouldings which can alone render it even tolerable to the eye, cannot be assigned a high place in a philosophical view of the art.

Saracenic architecture has been, perhaps, looked upon too exclusively by Mr. Hope and others as a mere offshoot from that of Byzantium. That much was borrowed, and the whole style much influenced by the architecture of the Eastern empire, cannot admit of a doubt; but this influence, though much greater in degree, seems only analogous to that which Eastern and Western Christendom exercised upon each other's works. And the degree of Byzantine influence seems to have differed in different countries; where Greek art had been prevalent it is naturally more strongly felt than in distant countries. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that where Byzantine edifices were at once seized upon for the use of the new faith, they were reproduced in subsequent erections; where the case was otherwise the style was more independent. But everywhere original genius—we cannot add taste—was at work; new forms were introduced, rare ones brought into constant employment, and all received a certain fantastic tinge from the character of the people. This is at once manifest in the excess of mere ornament, and in the strange forms given to arches and cupolas. Saracenic fancy, moreover, contrary to all just principles of æsthetics, delighted in astonishing the eye with a vast superstructure raised on a support apparently quite inadequate to sustain it. The style is rich, wonderful, calculated to enchant at first sight; but it is

one that will not bear critical investigation ; the chaste gracefulness of the Grecian, the soaring majesty of the Gothic, are absent, and are ill supplied by the exuberance of a fancy, vivid and fertile to the last degree, but uncontrolled by any law of taste or consistency.

The features which most decisively stamp the character of any style are undoubtedly its arcades or colonnades. And here we must at once pronounce this form of architecture to be entirely unsatisfactory ; the relation between the arch and its support is worse maintained than in the most incongruous specimens of Roman architecture. Stilted arches cannot be always avoided when openings of different breadth are required to be of the same height ; they occur under such circumstances in the best Gothic buildings ; in the architecture of Byzantium they abound to a fault. But the Saracens systematically surmounted the capital with a mass of masonry, plain or decorated, commonly overlapping the abacus, and only serving to crush the column, and cut it off from all connection with the arch. When the arch, as is often the case, again overlaps the stilt, the whole seems void of any proper support, and liable to fall to the ground the next moment. The frequent use of the horse-shoe arch is another blot on the style ; all æsthetical principles require that the lines of the arch should rise gently and gradually from the pier, and that the space above the latter should gradually widen. By the use of this form, the pier seems simply thrust in at an arbitrary point of the circle ; the pier does not support the arch, but the arch seems crushing or falling off the pier, and the space above the pier suddenly contracts in a manner which in a continued arcade is unsightly and absolutely ridiculous. And these two faults, so glaring, and so destructive to all beauty, occur in the earliest, and continue in the latest, edifices of those countries where this style of architecture assumed the most independent and original forms.

The chief of these are Egypt and Spain ; in the latter, cut off from the other Mahometan states, one might naturally have looked for new developments of art amid the splendours of the illustrious Caliphs of the West ; but in Egypt, an integral part of the Eastern empire, the case is not so clear. The reason seems to be found in a single circumstance. When Amru con-

quered Egypt, his first care was to provide a temple for the new worship,—“the first building,” says Professor Orlebar,¹ “which was erected in any country by the disciples of Mahomet for the general duties of their faith.” This word “erected” contains the explanation: he did not, like Constantine at Rome, or Mahomet at Constantinople, employ an existing building for his new use, and so impress an existing type upon future structures, but erected a new one from the ground in such a manner as might be expected from a horde of invaders animated by the fanatical spirit of their new religion of lust and bloodshed, under a chief whose name is mainly remembered as the destroyer of the noblest library the world had hitherto beheld.

Hence any improvements on Byzantine art were not likely to be found in the Arabian architecture of A.D. 643, especially if, as Professor Orlebar supposes, and as is by no means inconsistent with the character of the armed apostles of Islam, they deliberately laboured to avoid Christian forms and destroy Christian erections. This seems quite natural in the first days of a new religion, and that one propagated by the sword. Hence the mosque of Amru cannot boast of the clustering cupolas which crowned the temples erected by his later co-religionists in imitation of Byzantine churches; and a tradition was thereby formed; the cupola remained unknown to the mosques of Cairo for many ages. The omission of this most distinctive characteristic of Byzantine architecture alone gives a distinctive aspect to this new Egyptian style; one diametrically opposite to that of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies; while that is heavy, massive, resting every weight on a sustaining mass of even unnecessary solidity, the new form deigns not to give its superincumbent masses the least semblance of adequate support.

The mode in which not only Amru, but the Saracens in general for some ages, found materials for their erections, was the same as that employed by the early Christian architects, the destruction of elder edifices.² Whole cities were destroyed to construct new ones out of their ruins in spots which better suited the con-

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for January, 1845, p. 119.

² See Murphy's Mahometan Empire in Spain, p. 280.

venience or caprice of the conquerors. The mosque of Amru, like the Basilicas of Theodosius, was constructed out of fragments of previous structures; columns of all sizes and orders were intermingled, and to keep the brick arches the same height, stilts of different sizes were erected, which are sometimes actually longer than the columns; when one column was not thought sufficient to support the weight two are placed under a single stilt: the pillars are mostly without bases, but in some instances ancient bases are constrained to do duty as capitals. Nothing can be worse than the effect of the stilts, which have an existence of their own quite distinct both from the column and the arch, overlapping the capitals, and being again overlapped by the horse-shoe arch. It is enough to make one sigh for the grossest absurdities of Roman arches and entablatures. The coupled pillars in St. Constantia are elegance itself compared with the barbarous arcades of the mosque of Amru.

The horse-shoe, however, is not the only arch employed in this building; pointed arches occur both in the *mehrab* (a niche to which the worshippers are directed in their devotions) and in some other portions. But, as far as I can understand from Professor Orlebar's description, it is not found in the main arcades, the very position where one would have looked for its earliest appearance; as it would regulate unequal proportions as easily, and with more elegance, than the bungling contrivances of the horse-shoe and the stilts.

As the use of bells to summon a Christian congregation necessitated the erection of the campanile, the Mahometan worship, to which the worshippers are gathered by the sound of the human voice, originated the tall slender minarets which form so conspicuous a feature in the general prospect of an oriental city, and which are so necessary an appendage to a temple of Islam, that St. Sophia itself has been encumbered with these badges of its desecration. These occur in the mosque of Amru, though not of Amru's own erection, but added by Mouslima-bin-Moklam within the same year. They are here covered with conical caps, which afterwards in many instances developed into small cupolas. The form of the minaret is usually octagonal,¹ with circular balconies for the muezzin or crier.

¹ Orlebar, p. 129.

In 876, Ahmed-bin-Toulon erected a mosque in which he purposely abstained from employing ancient materials, and, according to Professor Orlebar, diligently endeavoured to give its architecture a character totally different from that of Pagan or Christian structures. Instead of employing columns, he raised his arches—of the pointed horse-shoe form—on rectangular piers of brick, with engaged shafts of very slight projection at the angles. They are without bases; “but they have capitals of foliage which is quite flat, being worked in plaister, and hence lose the object of capitals for want of depth of shadow.”

These principles were of no long duration, and subsequent architects reverted to the use of columns, employing both those despoiled from other buildings, and new and very inelegant forms of their own invention. These are chiefly octagonal, and in some instances formed by merely chamfering the angles of a square pier, so as to dispense with bases and capitals. The use of the stilt was continued, and we see it in the mosque of Al Mowaiyad, crushing equally the Corinthian columns plundered from antique buildings, and the new pillars of octagonal form, with things of a corresponding shape which, according to which way they are turned, serve indifferently for bases and capitals. This mosque was erected in 1415, so little had nearly eight centuries done to improve Mahometan taste. One example however, the mosque of Muiz, the fourth Fatimite Caliph, who first about A.D. 973 fixed his seat of empire at Cairo, ought to be cited as exhibiting rather better taste. The stilt is indeed employed, and overlaps the capital of the column; but it is not marked in any conspicuous manner, being continuous with the curve of the arch, which is obtusely pointed, and not at all horse-shoed. The arrangement is thus identical with, and not more unsightly than, the stilted arches which are necessarily introduced in the apses of many Gothic Cathedrals.

The arches in other examples are commonly more or less horse-shoed, but the pointed form, which in the earlier monuments appears only sufficiently often to prove that it was recognized as a legitimate shape, becomes from the time of Ahmed equally predominant with the round; neither having, according to Professor Orlebar's account, a decided preponderance. “The

pointed arch," he adds, "is either equilateral or obtuse. I remember no instance of an acute arch."

The form of Amru's mosque, which was preserved in most of the later ones in Cairo, being a mere quadriporticus round an open space, did not, any more than a Christian cloister, admit of the dome. They are usually covered with a flat roof; but that of Sultan Bakok, A.D. 1382, has a series of small cupolas, each bay of four arches supporting one on transverse arches. That of Sultan Hassan, A.D. 1310, has, by some caprice, a form of its own different from all others, being in the shape of a Greek cross. Here however, by a further perversity, the natural crown of the cupola is absent; "the central square is open to the sky, but the four arms are roofed by a simple pointed vault."

The cupola however, though excluded from the predominant type of the mosque, is frequent enough in other structures; and crowns alike the tomb, the fountain, and the minaret. The earlier specimens are plain and hemispherical; in later times they assume divers fantastic forms, as the ogee and the horse-shoe; they appear however to be always semicircular at the base, the splendours of the octagon of Florence are unknown to the temples of the false prophet and the tombs of his disciples.

The windows partake of the same character as the larger features of the building; they have either round or pointed arches, sometimes rising from shafts, and two are not unfrequently grouped under a single arch and divided by a shaft. A circle sometimes occurs in the head, giving the first rude hint of tracery. Sometimes three round-headed windows occur near together, with three circles placed pyramidally over them, which, if brought into closer connection, would at once produce one of the most familiar types of the early Geometrical window.

In the minor ornaments we cannot fail to remark the constant tendency to anticipate isolated Gothic features; such as panelling, filled with quatrefoils, or with other figures either actually found in that style, or not incompatible with it. But mouldings are never found: the arch, even when pointed, retains the square Roman section; so utterly lifeless is the style. Some of the ornaments are more Romanesque than Gothic, and the ubiquitous chevron does not fail to make its appearance.

We must now trace the flood of Moslem conquest to a far distant and a very different realm, to the mountains and rivers of the most western land over which the eagle of Rome and the crescent of Mahomet had waved. We must now see the followers of the false prophet parting among them the broad lands of romantic Spain, and the Caliphs of Arabia seated on the thrones of the Gothic kings. We must look upon the gorgeous temples and palaces reared by the heathen as but in trust for the faithful who should win back, step by step, the land of their fathers from the iron grasp of the infidel, and once more rear the cross upon the hallowed sites which the crescent of the Paynim had dishonoured. When the Last of the Goths turned from the hard-fought struggle which for a while cut off from Christendom the realm which his vices had lost, and which his sword might not regain ; when, as the legends of his nation tell,

“ He climbed into a hill-top, the highest he could see,
Whence all about of that wide rout one long last look took he,
He saw his royal banners where they lay drenched and torn,
He heard the cry of victory, the Arab's shout of scorn :”¹

but he saw not in the dim future the glorious day of retribution ; the turban and scimitar of the infidel failing before the Gothic spear ; the proud gates of Cordova once more opening to welcome the triumph of a Christian king, and his armed warriors chanting the hymn of victory within the gorgeous temple where the notes of the false worship were hardly hushed ; the deep notes of the vesper bell falling from Seville's proud Giralda to bid the faithful to the wondrous church to which the proudest monument of the heathen is “ chained in captivity ;”² and farther still, the last day of the battle of seven hundred years rising in triumph over the ransomed palaces of Granada, the last prince of the heathen marching forth to exile, and not a foot of Spanish earth defiled by the bondage of the infidel.

Such are the associations which at once crowd upon the mind in contemplating even in representation the gorgeous works of the Spanish Arabs, the wonderful mosque of Cordova and the fairy

¹ Lockhart's Spanish Ballads :
the Lamentation of Don Roderick.

² Ecclesiologist, Vol. V. 197.

palaces of the Alhambra. And besides the romantic visions of song and legend which they call up, and the more real gratitude which such trophies of hard-won conquest should raise in every Christian bosom, they are by no means void of intrinsic claims on our attention. Vast, wonderful, unique both in the nature and the extent of their decorations, reckoning among them the most magnificent, as far as mere enrichment is concerned, of all human erections, they at once attract and enchant the eye; but the critical ordeal at once pronounces them no less faulty than the rude structure of Amru. Lavish splendour, tinsel decoration, walls where not an inch is left unadorned with sumptuous carving, remind us of the subject genii that reared the palace of Aladdin; but the true soul of art, the inspiration which can make the plainest pile of Greece or England replete with the truest beauty, never found themselves a home among the followers of the impostor of Arabia.

Three periods are said by M. Laborde, as quoted in Murphy's History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, to be discernible in the Arabian architecture of that country; the first from the invasion to the ninth century, while Roman and Byzantine models were still imitated; the second from the ninth to the thirteenth, which is considered to be the purest Spanish development of Arabian art; the third from the thirteenth century to the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain, during which foreign ideas were again infused.

The great monument of the first period, though some portions of it seem to be with more propriety referred to the second, is the great Mosque—for the last six centuries happily the Cathedral Church—of Cordova. The general aspect of this wonderful pile is well known; the countless rows of columns crossing each other in all directions are striking in the highest degree; but it would seem that pure wonder is the only feeling that can be excited by them. The columns placed on one another in so unsightly a manner, and the interlacing of the fantastically formed arches, can never approve themselves to a correct taste, much as they serve to keep up the marvellous and unique character of the building. The piers are partly antique columns, partly imitations, without bases; they support arches, partly of the round horse-shoe form, partly of the strange multifoil shape

which is a peculiarity of the Arabian architecture of Spain. This arcade stands quite free, not supporting any wall; but another similar range of arches rests on columns and pilasters supported by the capitals of the lower range. The effect of the two alone is sufficiently extraordinary, but in some parts it is enhanced by an intermediate range, uniting the apices of the lower range, and cut through by the pillars of the upper, and as both the lower ranges are multifoil, the interlacings are altogether interminable. The exterior has no pretensions whatever, with no outline, and very slight elevation; there are merely four walls, broken by doors and windows of the horse-shoe form. The mosque was commenced by Abderrama, the first Ommiad Caliph of Spain, in 786, and completed by his son Hesham; but great additions were made by the Caliph Almanzor in 988, to which may probably be attributed the diversity of style perceptible in the building, as we can hardly fail to assign an earlier date to the plain horse-shoe arches than to the multifoil specimens. The latter are farther adorned with rich surface-mouldings and voussoirs of different colours.

The name of the palace of the Alhambra is almost synonymous with magnificence, and if mere decoration were all that is required, no edifice in the world could for a moment compare with its stately halls; every inch of wall being covered with arabesque and fret-work, and the ceilings dripping with gorgeous ornaments. But is the eye satisfied with those slender columns as supports to arches so far overlapping their capitals? No amount of mere enrichment can atone for the violation of the great law which requires every weight to have, in appearance as well as reality, an adequate sustaining mass. Nowhere is this rule less regarded than in the palace of the Moorish Kings of Granada. A slender column supports a capital of far too great projection, this again supports an overlapping stilt or fragment of entablature, and as if this were not enough to destroy all notions of mechanical support, the arch itself in many cases does not spring immediately even from this entablature, but from corbels overlapping again; it is thus cut off from all decorative connection with the column below, and appears suspended in the air without any sustaining power at all. Nor is the effect at all improved when, as is sometimes the case, this stilt or entabla-

ture is supported by coupled columns ; as their separation, by dividing the apparent support, even adds to the idea of insecurity. In the Alcazar at Seville the entablature is still more strongly marked, and of course with a further deterioration of appearance. The architects of the Alhambra had however the discretion to discard the horse-shoe arch from the continued arcades ; it is principally confined to single arches, where its effect is somewhat less unsightly. The pointed arch occurs, but not frequently, the form usually employed being the common round arch, either plain or enriched with those foliations hanging free like lace-work, which add so much of gorgeousness to this style. Sometimes the arch is not merely foliated, but itself assumes a multifoil shape. The arches are usually set in rectangular panels, like those which we are familiar with in our own Perpendicular structures, the divisions being marked by a vertical prolongation of the stilts forming a kind of pilaster. The spandrels are filled with those fantastic devices which, from the nation which first employed them, are known as arabesques, though that name has been incorrectly extended so as to take in many forms of ornament having the same general effect, but by no means identical, including even representations of animated life, which are prohibited by their religion to the followers of Mahomet. These decorations, so lavishly spread over the magnificent structures of Arabian art, give them an air of sumptuous splendour, which, with any but the most critical eye, must go very far to counterbalance their flagrant violations of every principle of decorative construction.

But the Arabian structure which perhaps after all is the most interesting to a Christian reader, is the gigantic tower of the Giralda at Seville, now serving as the campanile of the vast cathedral church which later ages have reared close to this proud monument of the vanquished heathen. The date of this erection is supposed to be about 1195,¹ and one can hardly help suspecting some Italian influence to have been at work, so great is the analogy which its vast, unbroken, unbuttressed height bears to the campaniles of that country, and especially to the grand contemporary structure at Venice. There is great lavishness

¹ Ramée, ii. 440.

of decoration, but very little real architectural design; the windows being small, and not treated with any skill of composition. There is much elaborate tracery, a good deal like Flamboyant work, arranged in long rectangular panels, and there is much fretting of arches; but there are no bold and striking features, like our Gothic belfry-windows, or even the arcades of an Italian campanile. Above all, one is indignant that Christian architects could ever have disfigured so precious a monument of the triumph of their race and faith by a paltry Pagan addition in the shape of an Italian cupola, which has not even the excuse of being in harmony with the original structure. This dates from the year 1568.

We must now retrace our steps to the far regions of the East, and observe what forms architecture took among the nations not of Arabian origin, who embraced the faith of Mahomet. It is in these Eastern structures that we must look for the greatest preponderance of Byzantine influence; Mr. Hope has pointed out the intimate connection and interchange of artistic influence which, notwithstanding their constant wars, existed between the Cæsars of Constantinople and the Sassanide Kings of Persia. This has continued ever since the Mahometan invasion in the countries formerly subject to those powers; and Byzantine forms have been thence carried through the vast realms of India under its Mogul victors. There are few countries where the votaries of Islam maintained a more uninterrupted reign, or where its princes were surrounded by greater magnificence than in Hindostan. Even the Caliphs of Bagdad and Cordova might yield to the Mogul Princes of Delhi in the splendid pageantries of an Oriental court. From these rulers we might naturally look for architectural works of the greatest splendour and gorgeousness; and such an expectation will not be disappointed. The vast realms which have been transferred from the line of Tamerlane to the merchants of England yield to no country in the number and costliness of their palaces and temples. The splendid style introduced by the Mahometan conquerors has preserved itself to our own day¹ by the side of the totally different architecture of the original inhabitants, and occasional interchanges of ideas appear to have taken place between them.

¹ See above, pp. 52, 53.

Arabian architecture, as it appears in Hindostan, presents several points of superiority over the forms which prevailed in Spain and Egypt. Though very far from approaching to the standard of a pure taste, it is not quite so fantastic in its character, and takes less delight in violating the ordinary laws of construction. The common pointed form is prevalent in all large arches, instead of the unsightly horse-shoe; and above all, the frequent and varied use of the cupola adds greatly to the beauty of their outlines. Consequently they approximate more nearly to the buildings which we are ourselves familiar with, though the Gothic arch and the Roman cupola do not to our eyes appear consistent or harmonious features. The appearance of many of the mosques, mausolea, and other monuments of the magnificent Emperors of Delhi, is, to say the least, excessively striking. The cupolas—sometimes a single one of gigantic dimensions, sometimes a cluster of smaller ones—forming the crown of the whole structure, the tall slender minarets, the arcades and gateways, combine to produce a picture which, if fantastic and lawless, must be allowed to be gorgeous and truly royal. To the splendour of outline must be added that of material. “The domes were supported by elegant columns, their concaves richly ornamented, and the tessellated marble pavement, beautifully arranged, vied with those of ancient Rome in the Museum of Portici; *the tracery in the windows resembles the Gothic specimens in European cathedrals.*”¹ “The finest marbles that could be procured were the most common materials in these superb buildings; for the ornamental parts, consisting of the most elegant borders in a sort of arabesque pattern with festoons of fruit and flowers in their natural colours, were composed entirely of agates, cornelians, turquoises, lapis-lazuli, and other valuable gems.”²

¹ Forbes, India, iii. 101. One could wish for some more definite description of this tracery, to which the author refers in another place, saying that it is “extremely neat and filled with stained glass from Europe after the manner of our cathedrals.” If the Mahometan builders in India really developed

actual tracery, it would be a striking corroboration of the view that Arabian architecture contained the elements of Gothic, though they for the most part remained latent. In Egypt we have seen an approach, though a rude and distant one, to the use of tracery.

² Forbes, India, iii. 103.

The cupola is undoubtedly the main external feature of this architecture ; it not only roofs in the main structure, but forms a capping for the tall minaret, and is even used to fringe the outline of enriched structures in a manner analogous to our own use of pinnacles. They appear to be sometimes hemispherical, sometimes even quite low, as in the early structures of Byzantium, but are more frequently horse-shoe, or bulbous and terminating in an ogee. This is remarkable from the rare occurrence of the analogous form of arch. Long arcades running round buildings are frequent, the arches springing from square piers which send up pilasters to the cornice. Foil arches are also common, and the ogee is found even on a large scale, as in the Grand Mosque of Ahmedabad. The round arch does not seem very usual ; it occurs in a stone bridge near Brodera, on which the author quoted above observes,¹ " I do not mention this construction as very curious or elegant in its architecture, but as the only bridge I ever saw in India." It is however a grand structure, consisting of two large tiers of arches, and a smaller one over them, and strikingly calls to mind the famous Pont du Gard in Languedoc, though it is certainly very inferior to that noble aqueduct. The hanging foliations are also found in an even more delicate and elaborate form than in Spanish architecture, and there is the same tendency to enclose the arch in a square panel. I cannot but consider the interior of the Mosque at Juanpore, which forms the frontispiece of the " Oriental Annual " for 1835, though infinitely less gorgeous, as a really finer display of Arabian architecture than anything in the Alhambra. Everything is solid and satisfactory to the eye ; there are no stilts, no insufficient supports, no horse-shoe arches ; and the cupola, though comparatively unornamented, is a sublime finish which may well atone for the loss of the dripping ceilings of the western building.

The character of the climate, which renders breeze and shade inestimably precious, naturally led to the use of open and shady verandahs, as in the gateway at Chunar Gur, where we see a profusion of projecting canopies supported on pillars, which remind one of the bracket-capitals of native Hindostan, from

¹ Forbes, India, ii. 272.

which they may possibly have been borrowed. Something very like an oriel window is also not of unfrequent occurrence. The parapets are often finished with a sort of battlement assuming the form of a pointed arch, and with scarcely any embrasure.

The minarets are, as in every Mahometan style, very important features, and from them seems to have been derived a general taste for tall and slender turrets in other positions, as they are frequently placed at the angles of buildings. The minarets are generally polygonal, with numerous projecting cornices, and are crowned with cupolas supported on small open peristyles; sometimes a very projecting canopy gives this part of the building very much the air of a broad-brimmed hat. The grand mosque of Ahmedabad has two of these turrets, of gigantic height and the most fantastic form, the vast numbers of projecting galleries giving them the appearance of a huge shaft encircled by many bands.

The gateways are among the finest monuments of Mahometan art in India. They often form large erections like the gate-houses of our abbeys or castles, the actual aperture forming but a small part of the structure; turrets of the form just mentioned often occupy the angles. In the Agra gate at Chauter Serai, which is figured and described in the *Oriental Annual*, the actual gateway is much of the same proportion as in our own, and the arch appears to be four-centred. In most cases, however, the aperture appears to be much taller: I do not refer to the gorgeous gateway at Chunar Gur, where the grand arch is no more the real gateway than one of the arches in the west front of Peterborough is the doorway of the church; but to such structures as the Kutwhuttea gate at Rhotas Gur, and the Kutwallee gate at Gour. The former, which is described as situated among some of the sublimest scenery in Hindostan, appears quite in character with such a position. Mr. Daniell's sketch represents a series of gigantic bastions, square and circular, with loop-holes, and with the very effective battlement of this style, rising one behind the other. Among these stands the gateway itself, a plain pointed arch of vast height with a similar one, blank and of still greater height, projecting in front, the real gateway being thus recessed from the surface of the wall. Even in the engraving there is an awfulness about this frowning

gate and the massive fortifications which surround it, which no European castle can surpass. It seems well described as "everywhere protected by a lofty wall of immense thickness, except where the precipice presents a natural barrier to an invading army. Wherever the mountain upon which the fort stands originally appeared in the slightest degree accessible, the wall towers above it with an union of massiveness and strength that seems to bid defiance to every human assault."

The other gateway was originally a principal entrance to the ruined city of Gour, once capital of Bengal. It is indeed a grand fragment, the arch alone rising to a height of more than fifty feet. There is a good deal of sculptured ornament on the walls, and a gigantic semicircular projection on each side—one hardly knows whether to call them turrets or columns—gives much character to the composition. They run up the whole height of the structure, battering towards the top; being tall and slender, and compassed with several ranges of bands, they have very much the air of engaged minarets. I must confess that these two gateways seem to me utterly to throw into the shade, as far as majesty of conception is concerned, any of our own structures of a like nature; the vast height giving them such an increase of grandeur above those of our finest castles.

There can be little doubt but that this architecture was immediately introduced into Hindostan from Persia, from the borders of which country the Mahometan princes first penetrated into India. Unfortunately I have not had access to such definite accounts of Persian buildings since the Arabian conquest, as of the works of the misbelievers in other lands. However it is clear that Persian buildings retain the same general character which is impressed upon all Mussulman structures. "The oldest mosque," says Mr. Hope,¹ "mentioned by Chardin, at Ispahan, supposed to have arisen in the second, or at most, in the third century of the Hegira, possessed a central cupola of more than a hundred feet in diameter, and other smaller surrounding cupolas, all, like that of St. Sophia and the other early churches at Constantinople, low and spreading. Whoever considers at Ispahan its later public edifices, can as little mistake, in

¹ Page 145.

their more pointed arcades and more elongated cupolas, the later forms of which Constantinople set the fashion to Venice and other places that owed her vassalage."

The Turks, the least polished of the great Mahometan nations, seem to have adhered more closely than any other to Byzantine models, as was indeed natural when they were possessed of the very countries in which it had flourished. To this day, as St. Sophia in its desecrated condition is itself one of their most honoured mosques, it still remains the great model for all others.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE DIRECT INFLUENCE OF ARABIAN ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN CHRISTENDOM.

It will be my endeavour in another part of this work to trace the indirect influence which the Mahometan architecture exercised in the formation of the Gothic style. At present we may not unprofitably consider a class of buildings erected under Christian sovereigns, but whose character is derived from a more direct imitation of Arabian models. In these the Saracens have not merely communicated ideas to be wrought up into a new style, the style is itself thoroughly Arabian; they are the work of Arabian architects, or copies of their works; in style they are mosques, in arrangement and dedication only are they churches.

These are the Pointed buildings of Sicily, undoubtedly the earliest Latin edifices in which we find a systematic use of the pointed arch. In Sicily it is used, perhaps not quite universally, but certainly as a general feature, while in Northern Europe it was just beginning to creep stealthily in. But this Sicilian style is not therefore Gothic, nor even a transition to Gothic: it does not combine with its pointed arches a single distinctively Gothic feature, and is far more classical than much earlier buildings in France, Germany, and England. It is hardly Romanesque: it is Roman with pointed arches.

Of all countries in the world Sicily has had the greatest num-

ber of nations commingled among her inhabitants. Not to mention Cyclopes and Læstrygonians, about whom modern readers might be sceptical, we have Sicels, Sicanians, Trojans, or persons claiming that name, Phœnicians, Greeks of all kinds, Romans, Byzantines, Saracens, Normans, French, and Spaniards. Nowhere might we more reasonably look for a mixed architecture, and our expectations will not be disappointed.

But while the two last nations on this list did not appear in the island till a period too late for our purpose, some of the others are too early. This mixed Sicilian style, and mixed enough it is, does not present any marked Trojan or Phœnician elements, and the influence of Greece and Rome is common to Sicily with the rest of Christendom; the three great elements to which we are to look in the composition of this style are the Byzantine, the Arabian, and the Norman. The island had formed a portion of the Eastern empire till its conquest by the Saracens in the ninth century. From that time it remained under the yoke of the infidels, till in 1072 Palermo yielded to the conquering arms of the Normans of Apulia, and the illustrious Roger, the first Count of Sicily, made his entry into the capital together with his brother and superior lord, Duke Robert, "and sending for Nicodemus, the Greek Archbishop, who, during the sway of the Saracens, had been restricted to a miserable chapel, they reinstated him in his own Cathedral, which had been turned into a mosque."¹ No worthier object can be conceived as the first care of a Christian conqueror. In 1130 his son Roger the Second assumed the royal title.

Under the reigns of these princes, who seem to have been in every way models of brave and politic rulers, the country was enriched with the beautiful churches, for beautiful they must be allowed to be, to which allusion has already been made, and which Mr. Knight's magnificent volume of plates sets so vividly before us.

The population of the island was a mixture of Greeks and Saracens; but as the architecture of the latter was in all cases to so great an extent an offshoot from Byzantium, one can

¹ Knight's Normans in Sicily, p. 2.

hardly distinguish the two as distinct elements in Sicilian architecture. Almost the only distinctively Byzantine monument remaining in Sicily appears to be the little chapel of Malvagna, engraved by Mr. Knight. "It is a square building, roofed with a stone cupola, and, on three of its sides, has a semicircular apse. In this building all the arches are circular, and its four little windows are round-headed."¹ The Arabian remains, though not very extensive, are more numerous, and exhibit that style of architecture to greater advantage than it appears in most other countries. Of those figured by Mr. Knight, the baths at Cefalà seem the best example; still the pointed arches rest upon classical columns certainly too slender for them, but exhibiting no approach to that monstrous and apparently intentional disproportion which is so conspicuous among the Arabian edifices of Spain. The roof of the building is a good pointed barrel-vault, and all the arches which appear in the drawing are also pointed. The Arabian palaces of La Cuba and La Ziza, near Palermo, have for the most part the pointed arch, though the latter in its great hall exhibits coupled Corinthian columns supporting an Arabian entablature, from which springs a round segmental arch. The same structure has parts of its roof adorned with the magnificent dripping ornament which we have already seen in the Alhambra.

Now, if we turn from these to the undoubted Christian remains of the Norman period, we shall find a large class of them differing in no important respect whatever. For an important local difference may be traced among these Sicilian buildings; in the neighbourhood of Messina, the first point captured, the conquerors employed a form of Romanesque; in that of Palermo, they built from the first in the style of the conquered Saracens. The Cathedral of Messina is Romanesque, with round² arches, and some distinctively Norman details, though much modified by southern notions. It has no central tower, and the arches rest upon granite columns taken from earlier buildings, but with

¹ Page 178.

² Mr. Knight mentions a "slight inclination to the horse-shoe in the form of those of the nave." This

might be considered as derived from the Saracens, but, as far as we can see, those of Sicily preferred the pointed arch.

capitals of the time in imitation of classical models. This church was commenced in 1093.

But at Palermo the principal buildings erected during the early days of Norman rule are of a decidedly Saracenic character, and utterly unlike the contemporary ones of Normandy, or indeed of any other part of Christendom. The pointed arch prevails throughout, but it is a pointed arch without any Gothic mouldings, and accompanied by no other Gothic or even Transitional detail. These churches are probably the first Christian structures which exhibit the systematic use of the pointed arch ; but they are not therefore themselves Gothic, and it may be doubted whether they could alone, any more than the pointed buildings of Italy, have been developed into a pure and consistent Gothic style. Some of these buildings follow the Greek distribution, having been, in several cases at least, erected for the use of the Greek religion, but the Latin plan is usually employed.

The church of St. John degli Eremiti at Palermo, is the most oriental of the latter class, having a congeries of cupolas altogether in the eastern taste. Western notions made a tower an essential part of the fabric, but, by an eastern development, its summit is crowned by a cupola. This church, and the monastery attached to it, were founded by King Roger, before 1132 ; but, in the words of Mr. Knight,¹ " it has so oriental an appearance, that, if its history were not so accurately known, it might have been mistaken for one of the mosques of the Saracens converted to Christian uses."

But this architecture is to be studied in its perfection in the superb Cathedrals of Cefalu, Palermo, and Monreale, and in the gem of the style, the magnificent Chapel of the Palace at Palermo, whose superb paintings and mosaics render it one of the most interesting studies of church-decoration in all Christendom. All these are on the Latin plan, though in the last mentioned the intersection is marked by a cupola. Like the earliest temples both of Christian and Mahometan worship, they have drawn largely upon the spoils of earlier buildings ; the arches rest upon antique columns of different forms and materials, some plain, others fluted. They are usually fitted with

¹ Page 257.

Corinthianizing capitals of the time, but having quite the general effect of the antique; at Monreale the capitals more nearly resemble those of northern buildings, admitting representations of animal life, and historical, chiefly Scriptural, scenes. The arches are pointed, of one or two orders, but altogether without mouldings; they slightly overlap the abaci of the columns, but have nothing of the unpleasant bracketing of Spanish buildings. They are often very much stilted; but the stilt does not appear as an architectural member. The choir at Cefalu has pointed vaulting from shafts, the nave a poor low-pitched timber roof. In the Palace Chapel the ceiling of the nave is also of wood, but quite flat, and thoroughly Arabian. Its dripping ornaments recal those of the Alhambra, or, to speak with more chronological exactness, anticipate its future splendours; it has also Arabic inscriptions in honour of the founder, King Roger, by whom it was completed in or before 1132. The Cathedral of Cefalu was the work of the same munificent prince, and was commenced in the same year in which the Chapel at Palermo was completed. The Cathedral of Palermo was built by Archbishop Walter in 1170, and that of Monreale by King William the Good in 1174. The dates are worth recording, on account of their utter diversity from the contemporary Norman structures of the north. Turning to the exterior, we find there also equal traces of Arabian influence. At Cefalu the west front has two plain towers, exhibiting both round and pointed arches; these project beyond the west wall of the nave, and the space between them has been filled up by a portico, to which Mr. Knight assigns a date so late as the fourteenth century. It retains much of Arabian character, as its three arches, the central one round, the others pointed, rest upon columns exhibiting the stilt as a distinct member above the capital. Palermo Cathedral has two thin turrets, almost minarets; but its most remarkable feature is the magnificent open porch on the south side, which might be almost deemed a foreshadowing of our own matchless front at Peterborough. It has a vast triplet of stilted arches on slender columns, and is gorgeously adorned with arcades and arabesques.

If the Norman kings did not scruple to employ forms borrowed from the infidels, even in their religious structures, it was only natural that the same style should be employed in secular

buildings. In these the Arabian taste might come out, if possible, yet more free and unimpeded than in their churches. This is most conspicuously shown in the view of a room in the Palace at Palermo, given by Mr. Knight. It breathes the most thoroughly Arabian spirit, and calls up the same dreamy and romantic notions of Eastern splendour as the habitations of the Spanish Caliphs. One really feels that a stern-visaged, iron-clad Norman was out of place in such a light, sunny, lofty abode ; as opposed as any thing can well be to the stern and gloomy dwellings of our northern rulers.

It must not however be supposed that the predominance of Arabian ideas in these Sicilian buildings altogether excludes the presence of Christian Romanesque, or even distinctively Norman forms. We have seen the Romanesque capitals at Monreale, and others occur in the otherwise Arabian cloisters at Cefalu. The grotesque heads and corbel-tables of our Norman often occur, and decorative arcades, usually adapted to the pointed form of the constructive ones, are liberally employed on the exteriors. The doorways too, even in such a thoroughly Arabian building as Cefalu Cathedral, are round-headed, and certainly to be called Romanesque, though, to judge from Mr. Knight's specimens, not distinctively Norman. They are rather, as he says, a mixture of Greek and Norman ; they differ much from our own Norman doorways, manifesting a much nearer approach to the classical type, and a great tendency to treat flat surfaces as pillars.

That these buildings are Arabian in style, that is, that the Norman kings copied a previously existing Arabian architecture, can hardly admit of a doubt. When we find the Sicilian Arabs using the pointed arch, and their Norman successors also using it without any other approximation to Gothic, one cannot resist the natural inference as to the source from whence it was borrowed by the latter. The only difficulty is as to the exact amount and nature of the influence which Byzantine forms may have exercised upon the style ; namely, whether the Normans borrowed from two distinct contemporary sources, Greek and Arabian. The question is however purely an antiquarian one, as in any case a Greek element exists ; whether directly or indirectly borrowed is of comparatively little consequence. These buildings indeed ex-

hibit but few Arabian peculiarities, and scarcely any of the more glaring instances of bad taste. But many reasons may be conceived why the architecture of the Saracens should assume a more pure and classical character in Sicily than in other lands. In none of the countries which they had previously subdued could they have found so large a store of Greek and Roman buildings, which might serve at once as models for future erections, and but too often as materials for their construction. Arches, which must be constructed anew, might be built after their favourite pointed form ; but while classical columns could be removed entire, there was no occasion to task the fancy for new forms of support, and to run into all the magnificent absurdities of the Alhambra. And we might even conceive that from the contemplation of classical remains a certain purity and simplicity of taste might be imbibed, which might keep them back from distinct stilts and horse-shoe arches, and even from any extensive use of foliation. At the time when the Mahometans became possessed of Sicily, the first fervour of their enthusiasm had cooled down, and there was less likelihood of such direct and formal opposition to preceding styles as we have seen in some other of their erections. We may thus fairly conceive that the style of Cefalu and Palermo is essentially the style of the preceding Arabian structures, and that however much Greek minds and Greek hands may have contributed to their erection, they did not then introduce any element foreign to the works of their Arabian masters, but that whatever Greek character they possess is of far earlier infusion.

These Sicilian structures are very interesting, from being probably the only instance in Europe of the deliberate retention of Arabian forms, and from the length of time which the borrowed style endured. "The Saracenic pointed style," says Mr. Knight,¹ "lasted in full force in Sicily till the end of the fourteenth century, as is proved by the Tribunali and the Ospedale Grande."² In the course of that time, under the Arragonese sovereigns,³ more and

¹ Page 344.

² The dates of these buildings at Palermo are 1307 and 1330 respectively.

³ The Arragonese dynasty in Sicily commenced in 1282, after the destruction of the French power by the famous Sicilian Vespers.

more enrichment was added to the mouldings, but enrichment of a Greek character. The Norman [?] zig-zag, however, still kept its ground. In the fifteenth century a change began to creep in, but taste had not yet taken any decided direction. Various novelties were attempted: sometimes the forms were circular, sometimes square, and sometimes elliptic. Amongst other novelties, the Pointed style of the north was introduced, with its projecting mouldings and a little of its tracery, but later in Sicily than anywhere else; and, though something of its true spirit is caught in the reconstructions in the castle of Maniace at Syracuse, yet in Sicily it always appears an exotic." These facts seem to prove incontestably that the Pointed style of Sicily is not Gothic, even in the sense of being the most distant transition to that style. The part of Christendom in which the systematic use of the pointed arch first appeared was the very last to receive anything like true Gothic architecture, and even then only as an exotic.

But though no other country so strictly retained a complete Arabian style, there seems good reason to believe that Sicily was not the only Christian land in which architecture was subject to direct Arabian influences. One can hardly help suspecting that a good deal of the pointed work of Italy comes from the same source, and that the odd phrase of "*Gotico Arabo*" really contains more truth than might at first sight appear. Pointed arches occur in Italy at a very early period, as in the Cathedrals of Pisa and Venice; and yet Gothic architecture in its purity was never naturalized in Italy any more than in Sicily. In Venice especially a strong oriental tinge appears both in other buildings, and in the magnificent Cathedral, whose cupolas are altogether Saracenic in their outlines. In Spain too, where the Arabs remained so long, and reared such superb monuments, it would have been strange if their architecture had in no degree affected the subsequent Christian style. We shall see when we come to consider the Spanish Gothic, that it possesses a certain fantastic character, a want of due relation between the support and the thing supported, and sometimes a direct retention of Arabian forms. As Mr. Hope says,¹ "the richest

¹ Page 456.

and most southern parts of Spain long remained occupied by the Moors, who boasted their own architecture, different from the Christians, but which the Christians, as they drove them back, disdained not to convert to their own uses, or to imitate." Still neither Spanish nor Italian Pointed architecture can be called Arabian in the same sense as that of Sicily ; it is Gothic, though imperfect ; it is an imitation or importation of the true Gothic of the north, however mingled with Arabian notions. How far the Arabian element pervades all Gothic architecture is a question which we shall presently have to consider.

PART II.

OF THE POINTED ARCH, OR GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

WE have now traced the course of the first form of architecture which the Church pressed into her service, as it gradually cast away its pagan fetters, and developed a form and beauty of its own, at once the perfection of its own mechanical construction, and of the symbolical teaching which the circumstances of the Church in that day called for. We have now to see it yield to another and a yet nobler style, to mark the architecture of rest and solidity give place to that of lightness and heavenward extension, and the forms that had their root in an age of persecution joyfully surrender their supremacy to those which breathed the spirit of a Church triumphant alike over heathendom without, and secular oppression within. We shall see how they built who bore alike the spear and the crozier in her holy cause; when "the praises of God were in their mouth and a two-edged sword in their hands;" when the Red Cross gleamed over the plains of Palestine, and the ranks of the heathen quailed at the name of Plantagenet, and the war-cry of "St. George for merry England."

We have now come to the Gothic style, that noblest offspring

of human art, a style hallowed by every association of national and religious feeling, the pure and undisputed possession of our Teutonic lineage and Christian faith. We have at last approached to the æra when mere skill such as heathen Greece never surpassed, and vastness of conception with which the most splendid piles of antiquity could not for a moment compete, were alike devoted to the honour of God and the service of His Church; when our land was covered with those wondrous and unearthly temples, where even among man's most glorious works, we most feel his littleness; where the tall shaft, and soaring arch, and the vault spread over us like the canopy of heaven, make us feel ourselves in the immediate presence of Divinity, where angels themselves might tread with awe. And yet there was a time when men could walk through the solemn aisles of Canterbury or Winchester, perhaps when the very shades of night were creeping over the mighty walls, with the last notes of the organ dying away through the long series of arch and vault, with Kings and Bishops and saintly founders still joining from their tombs in the worship of the faithful, and not feel the inspiration of the gorgeous temple; when men of refined taste and upright life could decry these our noblest monuments as the work of barbarians, and prefer not only the stern and chaste simplicity of Greece, but the gaudy and incongruous structures of Rome; when Addison could talk of "meanness of manner" as the characteristic of Gothic Cathedrals, and Evelyn speak of them as "dull, heavy, monkish, piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty." These days are happily gone by, may it be for ever.

That such a state of feeling could ever have existed seems to us almost incredible; it is difficult to understand that our grandfathers looked upon sash-windows as something far surpassing the barbarous invention of tracery, and deemed a board adorned with a few cherubs and vases, an ox-skull or two, and a couple of would-be Corinthian pilasters, as something which quite deserved the sacrifice of a reredos where rows of canopied niches, with crocket, and finial, and pinnacle of sumptuous foliage, had once held the venerable effigies of the martyrs of the cross. Truly, without any very great degree of self-exaltation, we may, as we gaze on the rood-screen of Kilndown and the

eastern window of Dorchester, join in the boast of the Greek of old,

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχομεθ' εἶναι.

It is no easy matter to understand how even the most ignorant rustics could endure to see tall arcades choked up by galleries, and gorgeous windows decapitated by plaster ceilings; it requires no slight acquaintance with the depth of human wickedness, with the blinding, deadening, power of avarice and self-worship, to conceive beings in human shape, apparently without remorse, lifting up the hand of the destroyer against St. Andrew's or Glastonbury, levelling at one stroke the fairest works of man, and the hallowed dwelling-place of his Maker; but more incredible still is the intellectual and moral blindness of men calling themselves lovers of art, admirers of beauty, who could deliberately examine the wonders of Christian and Teutonic art, and pronounce them to be rude, unmeaning, and absolutely void of beauty, and turn away from the clustered shafts, and foliated capitals, and soaring arches of the Angels' choir, to gaze with renewed admiration on the dull walls and senseless porticos of our only pagan Minster.

Even those "men of taste" who did not go so far as to esteem Gothic architecture as absolutely hideous, and who even honoured it so far as to examine into its origin and pile together an abundance of theories respecting it, do not seem to have been aware that they were studying real productions of art. A Gothic church, especially if consigned to ruin and desecration, was something strange, romantic, picturesque, calculated to awake a great deal of sentimental rapture, perhaps even allowed to possess a sort of irregular and fantastic beauty. But it was not looked upon as a work of architecture; its builders were at best spoken of in a patronizing tone as men whose productions were very creditable for their dark state, unenlightened by the rules of Vitruvius or Palladio; the idea that their works were the result of real scientific and philosophical principles seems never to have occurred; these were still looked for only among the relics of heathendom, which retained their place as the only standard of art and beauty in the highest sense.

One thing, however, was done in these miserable times, for

which we have to be thankful. I allude to the name Gothic, which a self-sufficient age bestowed on the highest of all forms of architecture, alike in contempt of its beauties and ignorance of its origin. Yet here, as in many other cases, we may be well content to adopt a name bestowed originally by the malice of enemies. We need not suppose, with the author of the "Churchman's Theological Dictionary," that Gothic architecture was "a method of building introduced by the Goths, when they had entirely overrun the Roman Empire, on the decline of the architectural art among the latter people;" nor exactly bind ourselves to the fuller explanation of this curious position which will be found in the note;¹ and yet we may consider the name "Gothic," to be on the whole the most appropriate title that can be given to the style. "Christian" architecture is incorrect, as involving the position that Bonn and Peterborough are not Christian buildings; it is besides, if it were to be made a general term, not a little affected and pedantic. And the term "Pointed," now frequently used, does not describe either the history, or the meaning, or the principles of the style, but simply certain of its details; besides it requires Romanesque to be called, for consistency's sake, the "Round" style, which has been defended in theory,² but which no one yet has ventured upon in practice. But Gothic does most certainly express better than any other name the fact that the style so called was, in a stricter sense than any other, the peculiar heritage of the Teutonic race, that it came to its perfection among them alone, never flourishing among the Romance nations of the South; that it is the style of feudal and ecclesiastical Europe, of the days when the Gothic or Teutonic spirit animated all Western Christendom. The author

¹ "When the empire was *entirely overrun by the Goths*, the conquerors very naturally *introduced their own method of building*. Like the ancient Egyptians, the Goths seem to have been more studious to amaze people with the greatness of their buildings, than to please the eye with the regularity of their structure, or the propriety of their ornaments. They corrected them-

selves however a little by the models of the Roman edifices which they saw before them; but these models themselves were faulty: and the Goths being totally destitute of genius, neither architecture nor any other kind of art could be improved by them."—Encyclopædia Britannica, II. 221, Ed. 1797.

² Ecclesiologist, V. 229, note.

whose definition we have just given is probably the only person who, in the year 1845, either antedated Gothic architecture by seven centuries, or when he heard the phrases "Gothic architecture," "Gothic languages," "Gothic mythology," thought only of the national Goths, and piously believed Alaric and Theodoric to have been great patrons of vertical architecture. The use of the word in this sense is so well recognized both by friends and enemies, that it is not liable to be misunderstood. If we substituted "Teutonic," we should gain nothing, except perhaps an article in the next edition of the Theological Dictionary, attributing the invention of the pointed arch to the antagonists of Marius, instead of those of Stilicho. "Gothic" is now better understood than "Teutonic" would be, and the latter term is more purely and merely one of national distinction,¹ while "Gothic" seems to express something more; a thousand religious and chivalrous associations centre around it, which hardly do as yet around the other. The difference is analogous to that which theological controversy would find between "English" and "Anglican," "French" and "Gallican." The one merely expresses a fact; the other includes its bearings and associations.

We may therefore safely continue the nomenclature now ordinarily received, according to which Romanesque expresses the style in which the influence of Roman art is still predominant, and which is in fact, as we have shown, the perfect development of the Roman construction; and Gothic that which arose among the Teutonic nations when their own system of civilization was approaching its perfection, and which most completely expresses the spirit which those nations impressed upon mediæval Christendom. We have now to define this latter, or Gothic style. And fortunately there is no style which admits of so easy and philosophical a definition; none is so completely the carrying out of one grand principle, of which all its features of construction and decoration are but the exhibition in detail. This has been already defined to be the upward tendency of the whole building and of its minutest details; in a word, the vertical principle, which, when fully carried out, renders a Gothic cathedral one harmonious whole, seeming actually to rise heaven-

¹ See Whewell's *German Churches*, p. 49.

wards. The eye is guided upwards throughout ; the whole building rises from the floor to the roof ; no part seems an after-thought, as something unavoidably put on, but each portion grows out of that beneath ; all is light, airy, and soaring. "The universal tendency," says Dr. Whewell,¹ "is to the predominance and prolongation of vertical lines ; for instance, in the interior, by continuing the shafts in the arch-mouldings ; on the exterior by employing buttresses of strong projection, which shoot upward through the line of parapet, and terminate in pinnacles." We shall presently trace the application of this pervading principle in these and many other details ; at present we cannot do better than quote the splendid passage in which the same universal genius describes its general effect as developed in man's noblest work, a perfect Gothic minster. "It would hardly be too fanciful to consider the newer religious architecture as bearing the impress of its Christian birth, and exhibiting in the leading lines of its members, and the aspiring summit of its edifices, forms 'whose silent finger points to heaven.' And this idea becomes more striking still when we compare our religious buildings with the graceful but low and level outline of the temples of heathen antiquity, whose favourite purpose seems to be to spread along and beautify the earth which their worshippers deified. We may thus, with the poet's as well as the artist's pleasure, image to ourselves

' the bulk
Of ancient minster lifted above the cloud
Of the dense air which town or city breeds
To intercept the sun's glad beams ;'

and leaving far below it the pillared front and long entablature of the Grecian portico : while the *buttressed* clerestory, with its spiry pinnacles and woven tracery, hangs over the altar and the sanctuary, like a coronal upheld by the stony arms which the Christian architects learnt to make powerful and obedient for this purpose."²

The first instance of the carrying out of this vertical principle, first alike in date and in importance, is the general adoption of the *Pointed Arch*. I say its general adoption, as its invention may be traced up to the remotest times of

¹ German Churches, p. 49.

² Ibid. p. 127.

Egyptian and Pelasgian mystery, and its occasional use, as caprice or convenience might dictate, was, as we have seen, far from unknown during the whole duration of Roman architecture. But these were mere detached instances, and not a systematic use of this form ; this last we have indeed seen among the Mahometan nations ; they made a systematic use of the pointed arch, but they never made it part of a system ; not being accompanied by other vertical details, it is merely a solitary feature, and not a development of the vertical principle. This latter use of the pointed arch is peculiar to Gothic architecture, and is its distinguishing and most easily recognized sign. It is the most appropriate and natural form for the arch to assume in a vertical structure. Such an one requires the pointed arch ; in viewing a round arch the eye travels up one side and down the other ; but in the pointed both sides seem to rise at once, and joining at the apex, to unite in the general ascending tendency of the whole. Hence the round arch, the sign of the old architecture of rest, was abandoned, and the pointed, the chief mark of the architecture of vertical extension, assumes its place. As Mr. Petit truly observes, though his words to a certain extent imply the quasi-Gothic character of the Norman Romanesque, a point on which I have the misfortune to differ from him : "The truth is, the pointed arch was found out to be, simply because it was, the fittest for the style now expanding into perfection ; it had been gradually familiarized to the eye, and thus, as the other members of the system became ready for its reception, it assumed its proper place, where it asserted and steadily maintained its sovereignty without an effort."¹

In estimating the importance of the pointed arch as a Gothic feature there are two errors to be guarded against. The one is the old notion that the pointed arch is the sum and substance of the whole question, and that for a building to be Gothic it is quite sufficient if it exhibit arches of this form. In this sense we find Bishop Heber applying the name to the Pointed erections of the Mahometans in India. This notion is pretty well exploded. There can hardly be any occasion now-a-days to go about to prove that the pointed arch is not the essence of Gothic architecture. It is generally recognized to be but one

development among others of a principle, though I hesitate not to say, the most important of its applications. The danger now is rather lest the full value of this most important feature should not be recognized. There seems a disposition now at work among that class of antiquarians who proceed not on any philosophical principle, but on mere induction of ancient examples, to throw away all reference to the form of the arch, because forsooth an occasional caprice employed the round arch now and then during the best periods of Gothic. Now, although the pointed arch is not *the essence* of Gothic architecture, it is the application of the pervading principle of the style to the most important features of the structure; consequently no Gothic building can be considered perfect without its employment in its main portions, the pier-arches and the vaulting; a Gothic building with round arches and a Roman with pointed are equally incongruous. We may hence learn to estimate at its true value such an assertion as the following in the Glossary under the article Arch. "In investigating Gothic architecture, it is important to distinguish between *forms* and *principles*; an arch is only a *form*, and may be changed without affecting the *principles* of the style. However startling it may sound, it is true that it would be very possible to erect a building in any style of Gothic architecture in perfect purity without a single pointed arch¹ in any of its parts; it would be a singularity, from the absence of the usual *forms* in the leading features, but they would not affect the *principles*." Now as it is the general tendency of the Glossary to provide the most diligent and accurate collections of forms without any regard to theories or principles, it can hardly be thought uncharitable or disrespectful to hint that the author is rather out of his element in speaking of principles at all. The position is utterly untenable. It must mean one of two things; either that a Gothic building may exist without arches at all, or that it may have arches, and yet all of them be of other forms than pointed. In the former case it would be but a lame and imperfect specimen, and

¹ This strange assertion is repeated in an article on Mr. Paley's Gothic Architecture, in the *Archæological Journal* for February, 1847. "It would be very possible to build

a *thoroughly good* Gothic church taken entirely from ancient examples without a single pointed arch throughout."

could hardly be an ecclesiastical building, even of the very humblest description ; it could never be a typical Gothic structure. In the latter sense I should unhesitatingly deny, whatever its date, were it the work of Wykeham himself, that it had any right to be called a Gothic building at all. A structure which failed to apply its leading principle to the great and conspicuous feature of construction, would be a miserable abortion, unworthy of the name of an architectural work. The author talks as if forms were something utterly independent of principles, and which might be put on or cast off at pleasure. But though forms are not principles, they are the development and application of principles, and the principle of Gothic architecture is assuredly not fully developed or applied in any building where every important arch does not assume the pointed form.

The pointed arch then is the first and greatest carrying out of the vertical principle, and gives the *construction* of a Gothic building. We must now see how the principal features of *decoration* follow the same great law, and assume forms in harmony with the animating principle of the style.

Next to the use of the pointed arch, the most important of single tangible features is the change in the form of the *abacus*, which now becomes round or octagonal instead of square. This, though at first sight it might appear a matter of very minute detail, is a development of the highest importance ; it arises from a deeper source, and is of far more consequence as an effect, than might at first be supposed. In order to produce a perfect vertical effect, the eye must be prevented from resting on any point in the ascent. We have seen that in the classical orders, adopted under the requisite modifications in the Romanesque style, the column retains a real separate existence, and the square abacus properly remains as the boundary of the pier or column, and has indeed a farther existence of its own. But to produce the true vertical effect, the separate existence of the parts must be destroyed, they must be subordinated to the whole ; the column, whether a pier or a mere decorative shaft, must be such as not to exist without the arch above it ; it must not be a post with a weight laid on it, or even a wall merely supporting it, but a trunk with its branches growing inseparably out of it. The square abacus then, the boundary of the separate existence

of the column, must be discarded, and sink into a mere moulding corresponding with the form of the column, and forming a relief, without being a stoppage, to the eye in its vertical progress.

A third feature, not indeed essential to the existence of Gothic architecture, but most certainly essential to its ideal perfection, is the *Clustered Pillar*. To this form Romanesque affords very close approximations, but seems never to have produced its perfect form. The idea of the complex piers of that style is a rectangular mass with shafts attached to its surface, or set in its angles. But the Gothic pillar is either an assemblage of shafts brought into close juxtaposition, or else a mass channelled with mouldings, though still commonly retaining the shaft as an adjunct. Now of all conceivable architectural features the column is the most complete unity; there is none so incapable of being fused in among other members. And the rectangular pier, though possessing less distinct existence, has certainly no vertical tendency whatever, and its square edges contradict another law of the Gothic style. But by clustering and channelling pillars, each order of the arch above may have its own source in the pier below; the shaft is more or less perfectly continued in the mouldings of the architrave. The clustered shaft and the moulded architrave go together; one seems out of place without the other; both are required for the highest perfection, though both have their admissible substitutes. The substitute for the clustered pillar is the columnar pier of octagonal form; its shape hinders it from having the same distinct existence as the cylindrical column, and as presenting a number of tall narrow faces, it possesses a degree of verticality, which is more apparent, as they may be, to a certain extent, considered as prolonged in the chamfered edges of the arch. The octagonal pillar is not a high or perfect development of the Gothic principle, but it contains no contradictory element, and is consequently an allowable substitute for the more perfect form. This cannot be said of the cylindrical pier, though a feature infinitely more beautiful in itself, and retained in numberless examples of good Gothic. Whether slender or massive, it has still the same unmanageable, independent existence, which can by no process be made to harmonize with the lines of the arch. It is a significant fact that it is not

found in the main arcades of any purely Gothic cathedral in England.

We now come to the Gothic principle as carried out in *mouldings*, one of the most important features of the style. The square section, the perfection of Romanesque, is utterly abandoned, and not a single edge allowed to remain; in the very simplest form they are chamfered off. The orders of an arch have commonly so large a chamfer as to make them parts of a regular polygon; bases, abaci,¹ sometimes even the angles of buildings, lose their sharp, square edge in like manner. The chamfering of an arch is a decided Gothic development, and quite sufficient to carry out the principle. A Gothic building with no moulding beyond chamfers is not imperfect or incorrect, but simply very plain; while to retain square edges is an actual solecism. But where greater richness, and a more complete development of the style, are sought for, the same principle of cutting away the section is manifested in excavating the surface with hollows. I speak thus, because no Gothic moulding, except labels and string-courses, no member of a moulded architrave, ever projects from the surface; all will be found contained within the line of the chamfer. The rounds are not, like the heavy rolls of the Romanesque, attached to a surface, but are merely the spaces left between hollows, which are themselves—again to avoid any squareness—worked up into this form. The Gothic mouldings are not only exquisitely beautiful in themselves, but are, in more ways than one, a remarkable development of the Gothic principle. The square edge, a hard boundary of two planes, is a mark of distinctness; so is the distinction of orders in an arch when² strongly marked; these signs of separate existence are therefore to be swept away. But more than this, the chamfer to a certain

¹ The omission of the square abacus is of course an exemplification of this principle, but its importance in another point of view is amply sufficient to justify its being assumed as a distinct development, as I have done above.

² That is, when the section is still square; the orders are otherwise

rather a relief to the eye in following the sweep of an arch; and we consequently find Gothic mouldings for a long time grouping themselves according to the orders, and afterwards substituting divisions, thus far analogous to the orders, between the groups.

extent, and the hollow moulding more completely, do themselves form strongly marked vertical lines ; a deep hollow in a moulded arch forms a strong line of shade along which the eye runs with the utmost facility ; so too does a round, but in a less degree, unless a fillet be added as a guide along its smooth surface. Hence we may see why this kind of moulding is felt to be incongruous when applied to a round arch. The line of moulding tempts the eye to commence a vertical journey, which it cannot conclude, being cut short in its progress and brought downwards again by the form of the arch.

The above may be considered as the principal instances in which the Gothic or vertical principle is carried out in the architectural members ; those which must exist in some form or other, but which have a new one given to them in accordance with the principles of the new style. But the principle has a much wider extent of application, ruling every part of the building, from the boldest features of construction to the minutest portions of detail. From the tall spire forming the crowning point of a vast cathedral to the sharp canopy over a diminutive niche, the same soaring tendency is displayed. But it must be remembered that this by no means excludes the use of strong horizontal lines, deeply marked string-courses, transoms, division of height into stages. Where there is no strife,¹ there is no victory : the vertical line cannot be called predominant, unless the horizontal exist in a visible condition of subjection and inferiority. Hence arises the principle of contrast—a very important element in Gothic architecture, and of which we shall have to speak more at length when we come to consider that style in its subdivisions.

But we must beware of attributing to features which may or may not exist, but which, when they do, are exemplifications of the Gothic principle, the same importance as to the essential forms which it has impressed upon architectural members. High roofs, spires, pinnacles, flying buttresses, all help to produce vertical effect, but they are the luxuries of Gothic architecture

¹ Compare the Ecclesiastic, IV. 78, and a paper on "Uniformity considered as a principle in Gothic Architecture," read before the Ox-

ford Society by the Rev. W. B. Jones, M.A., and printed in their Report for Easter and Act Terms, 1845.

rather than its necessities. A church may be Gothic—purely and beautifully Gothic—in which they do not exist, or at all events in which they are not predominant features. But one that exhibited all these in the same fulness as Cologne or Westminster, and retained round arches, columnar piers, square abaci, and square edges, would have no claim to the title of a Gothic church. I cannot but think, dangerous as it is to enter the lists with such an antagonist, that Dr. Whewell has in some degree fallen into this error, when he considers¹ the flying buttress as of more importance in the development of Gothic than the pointed arch. The latter is the application of the main principle of the style to its main feature of construction; the flying buttress, as Dr. Whewell seems to confess, is only a mechanical help for producing greater height, and thereby incidentally giving greater scope to the principle of verticality; though by the consummate skill of the Gothic architects it becomes itself a vertical feature in the external view.

We must now consider another feature which I cannot but look upon as of equal importance to the ideal perfection of Gothic architecture with any of those which have been already mentioned. This is vaulting. But vaulting itself is not an emanation from the vertical principle, but simply that particular form of it employed in the Gothic style, that namely which exhibits the Gothic forms of arches and mouldings. The use of vaulting is analogous to that of the arch; Gothic architecture requires, first, the use of arches, and secondly, that those arches be of a particular form; and the like is the case with vaulting. That vaulting is required for the ideal perfection of the style must, I think, be plain to any one who will consider the question in its abstract bearings, without reference to the fact that so many noble churches are to be found in England without vaulting, an insular peculiarity as unaccountable, and as little worthy of approbation, as the substitution of flat east ends for apses. Without vaulting it is impossible to carry the idea of the style into one of the most important features. It is in fact the only means by which the vertical principle can be carried out in one continued ascent from the floor to the apex of the roof. With

¹ German Churches, p. 126.

any other form of roof, the vertical progress of the eye is checked by the horizontal line of the cornice, and the roof seems like an after-thought, something put on because of physical requirements, but not contemplated in the decorative construction of the whole. The high-pitched open roof is certainly a very noble feature, but even here there is no such continued vertical ascent as in the vault. The eye is indeed carried vertically to the wall-plate, but there it is suddenly stopped, and has to set out on a new journey, a vertical one indeed—as the high pitch of the roof is certainly in itself an exemplification of the principle—but not the same as that which it commenced from the floor. Disguise it as you will with the arched beam at intervals, the roof remains something adventitious, put on because physically necessary, but not architecturally connected with the building below. And further, in no form of wooden roof can the side windows be made thoroughly to harmonize with the roof; their pointed arches ill agree with the square compartments above them. This seems to be acknowledged by the fact that in some fine wooden roofs there is an arch thrown over the windows; but this is no development of the wooden roof, it is an idea borrowed from vaulting, and a manifest confession of the superiority of the latter. And even the east and west windows can never harmonize *so perfectly* with a timber roof as with a vault, even when the former deals much in arches under the rafters, which again is an idea borrowed from the stone construction. But in a vaulted church—supposing of course the vaulting to spring from shafts, not from corbels—the eye ranges uninterruptedly from the pavement to the keystone of the vault, which, itself formed of pointed arches, seems soaring into infinity. The pointed cells of the vaulting answer to the pointed arches of the windows, and, as the style advances, we find them fitting more and more closely into them. In short, the timber roof is a necessary addition, but still an addition, a distinct design from the walls: the vault and the walls are both portions of the same design; they unite together and constitute one whole, the walls forming but one vast impost for the vaulting-arch.

Such then is Gothic architecture, the noblest form of the art which combined genius and piety ever produced. But having seen what it is, and contemplated its wonderful beauties, the

question of its origin comes upon us with redoubled interest. Whence came so grand and glorious a conception? what age, what country, what single mind of man, had the honour of giving birth to this sublimest emanation of the human intellect?

There is good ground for believing that Gothic architecture may be traced to more sources than one, as if a style which culls for itself all the choicest beauties of art and nature were too great and too diversified for a single origin. And the belief that Gothic architecture derived some details from natural objects, others from its Roman predecessors, others even from the enemies of the faith, is in no way incompatible with regarding all as applications of the vertical principle. We talk of development and expansion till we almost fancy a style of architecture to be something really existing, endued with vital powers, like a tree which grows and throws out branches without the intervention of human aid. I fully grant that the development is for the most part an unconscious one; architects did not sit down with a deliberate intention to construct a vertical building, and then cast about for details which might be vertical. But still the details did not come spontaneously. We cannot suppose that the working of the vertical notion in the mind of the architect caused him accidentally to build pointed arches without any thought of their form; that square abaci, mouldings, foliage, all came of themselves; and that the Gothic cluster appears at last with all its full complement of flowers and leaves, but is still ignorant that it is not a square pier or an Ionic column,

“Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.”

The architect must have seen and admired his principal forms before he adopted them for his own use; they were presented to his eye, and he felt them to be both beautiful in themselves and agreeable to his preconceived notions. Some of the smaller matters may have been produced by a series of experiments after forms which might be congruous to the principal lines when it was felt that the old ones were not so. This may account for square abaci and clustered columns; and moulding clearly arose from the desire to relieve the heaviness of the Romanesque rolls, by making a hollow between. But no such process would account

for the pointed arch ; this must have been seen in its full perfection before it was adopted as a feature of the style. And hence the old antiquaries who reduced the inquiry into the origin of Gothic architecture into an inquiry into the origin of the pointed arch, were *accidentally* not so far wrong as might be, and often has been, supposed.

It would be useless to recount the thousand and one theories put forth by ingenious men to account for this origin ; interwoven branches, intersecting arcades, the figure called "*vesica piscis*," and countless others. I believe all these to be equally true, and equally false. They are all equally false if put forth as the one solvent, if supposed to show the actual origin of the form ; all equally true as expressing different circumstances which brought the form more and more before the eyes of the architects of the twelfth century. That none were the actual source of the form is clear, as the mere form is indisputably as old, and probably older, than the round ; nor were they even the means by which the builders of that day became first acquainted with it, the form being, as we have seen, in occasional use during the whole Romanesque period. A common workman of the eleventh century would probably have been disconcerted at a command to construct a pointed arch, just as some might be at the present moment. But we cannot doubt that Bishop Gundulph and Bishop Walkelyn were tolerably familiar with its shape, and would not have scrupled to use it, had the necessities of any particular position rendered it necessary or even convenient. The mere knowledge of the pointed arch is not enough ; we see that, so far from this knowledge necessarily introducing Gothic architecture in all its fulness and purity of detail, it did not even lead to the general use of the pointed arch in its solitary state. People knew the pointed arch, and actually preferred the round ; a fact of course producing additional difficulty. The real question is, *When and why did Western architects substitute the pointed arch for the round in the principal arcades of their churches ?*—a question as distinct as possible from that of the mere origin of the pointed arch. It was not antecedently improbable, and facts prove it to have been the case, that the form might remain dormant, used only now and then when occasion might require, for ages before it became a prominent feature of

construction, and still less of decoration. It is only a repetition with regard to a particular form of arch of the process which took place with regard to the arch itself. The Egyptians constructed occasional arches for two thousand years, but they never produced an arched architecture; and what the Egyptians did with the arch in general, the Lombards and Normans did with its pointed form.

Where then did the Teutonic builders of the twelfth century learn this systematic application of the pointed arch? The only theory, short of spontaneous development, which affords an answer to this question, is that which traces the origin of Pointed architecture to the East, and sees in the long arcades of the Gothic minster another triumph over the enemies of the faith, another glorious spoil wrested from the infidel, and kindled into new and holier being beneath the life-giving breath of our holy Mother. What the Pagan basilica is to Caen and Southwell, the mosque of the False Prophet is to Altenberg and Lichfield; the lifeless body without the quickening soul, the mere form of a style as yet unenlivened by its spirit. The resemblance between Arabian and Gothic architecture cannot be denied: pointed arches, foliation, an attempt at tracery, some of the most important of the points distinguishing Gothic from Romanesque, are all found in the works of the Mahometans. The era of their first systematic appearance in the West coincides most remarkably with the times when a closer communication with the East was opened by the swords of the Crusaders. Imperishable as must be the fame of these soldiers of the Cross as long as faith, and zeal, and valour are honoured among men, it must add to the veneration in which we hold even their memories, to deem that to their victories we owe the holiest form of the first of arts, that the architecture of Lincoln and St. Ouen's is the hard-won and precious guerdon of the saintly warfare of Godfrey and the sterner courage of the Lion-hearted King. Little indeed need we blush to see the Church again arrayed in the spoils of captive heathendom; it is but the chosen people going forth enriched with the gold of Egypt, or the crown of the Ammonite set upon the head of David; the faithful heart should beat higher in gazing on the signs of conflict and of victory; and as we stand by the silent tomb of one who fought at Jaffa or at

Ascalon, we may behold with increased rapture the arch and vault that soar over the mailed effigy, if we deem their glorious forms to be an heritage won for us by the cross-handled sword which the soldier of God still sheaths before the altar of his Maker.

And viewing the subject with a calmer eye, scarcely any valid objection can be brought against the eastern origin of Gothic architecture. I am fully aware that the position is open to a difficulty like that of the Indian cosmogony, in which the elephant indeed stands upon the tortoise, but the question of the tortoise's own standing-place is left unanswered. The point at issue is only shifted; the Teuton learned the systematic use of the pointed arch from the Saracen, but whence did the Saracen learn it? If however we suppose the Teutonic nations to have developed the pointed arch independently of any oriental influence, the source whence it came to the Arabs has still to be sought; so that at all events by looking to the East for its introduction among ourselves, we have but one difficulty instead of two. It would be indeed a strange thought, yet it is by no means improbable, that the early Arabian architects may have actually adopted pointed forms as a badge of their faith in opposition to those of the Christian architecture of their age and country. But however the Saracens may have acquired their systematic, although far from invariable, use of pointed arches, there seems no difficulty in supposing that their architecture was the source from which its use came into western Europe. The difficulty would rather be in attributing to any other cause such a phenomenon as the appearance in France, England, and Germany, of forms strikingly resembling those employed by the Saracens, at the moment when communication became more frequent between the natives of these countries and those very Saracens. We have seen that in one country at least, the Arabian architecture incontestably grew into a Christian Pointed style; a style certainly not pure Gothic, but which had it fallen into the hands of architects qualified to develop its capabilities, might have become so. Allowing for a greater leaning to classic forms, which was naturally to be looked for in that country, the Sicilian-Arabian-Norman style is as near an approach to Gothic as our earliest Transition. The massive piers of Malmesbury Abbey are

not more Gothic than the Corinthian columns of Palermo ; both must have been got rid of before a pure Gothic style could be developed out of either. And if any one should choose to derive Gothic architecture in general from these Sicilian structures rather than directly from those of Palestine and Egypt, the point would be hardly worth contesting, though the balance of probability is certainly in favour of the latter.

An objection might possibly be drawn from the fact that the only other country of Europe in which Arabian architecture was ever prevalent, and in which it has left its most splendid remains, contributed little or nothing to the development of the Gothic style. There are many Gothic churches in Spain, and some few of great merit, but, as we shall hereafter see, the style always remained an exotic. But there are two circumstances to be taken into consideration. The Arabian architecture in Spain does not present so close an approximation to Gothic forms as that of the east ; to go no farther, the round arch is retained in its most sumptuous buildings. The Spaniard then had not the same opportunities for learning Pointed forms in his own country as were possessed by the French or English pilgrim to the east. And secondly, it by no means follows that proximity to Arabian buildings, or direct imitation of them, would at all conduce to excellence in the Gothic style. All that could be learned from the infidels was one or two very important forms, of which they had the *κρήσις* rather than the *χρήσις* ; elements which they kept in a dead unproductive state, and which required great development before a perfect style could be produced. Arabian architecture was so far from containing the Gothic principle, that it cannot be said to have any leading principle at all ; its best form is but an absurd incongruity, a Pointed Romanesque. Hence while it supplied many admirable hints, it would have furnished the worst possible models ; and a constant view of the structures in which they were at first so imperfectly carried out, could only have tended to check the progress of their development.

The Crusaders then imported, not Gothic architecture as a complete style, but certain forms thrown away on their possessions, but which northern genius at once felt itself capable of employing to some better use. It must have been a yearning

after something more aspiring than the existing Romanesque could supply, some dim conception of ideal beauty beyond anything which the world had yet seen, which made them feel instinctively that the pointed arch would serve their purpose. It could not be mere admiration of existing beauty. A grand Norman arch is immeasurably more beautiful than a pointed one as used by the Arabs, bare of mouldings, and hideously stilted or horse-shoed. A mere dilettante love of elegant forms could have led no man to substitute the latter for the former. But they felt that they could, we may literally say, *mould* the dead form into something more noble. The immediate result was that from about the middle of the twelfth century the pointed arch began gradually to supersede the round in the main arcades of northern churches.

And this being accomplished, I hesitate not to say that the battle was won;¹ the doom of Romanesque was irrevocably sealed; it remained only for the conqueror to take full possession; a process slow but certain. It was as when the Norman first reared his banner on Saxon ground; a single battle decided the fate of England, her native liberty fell for ever on the field of Hastings: yet many a long year, many a fierce and deadly struggle, had yet to come before the stranger had full and undisturbed possession of the length and breadth of the land. The pointed arch once firmly established, every other detail followed as a matter of course; the fine taste of a mediæval architect could not but observe how inconsistent with his soaring arch was the ponderous column on which it rested, and the square

¹ "The Pointed arch contains within itself the germ of the vertical principle, but the germ lay dormant, till it was observed by the genius of the great Trans-Alpine architects of the thirteenth century. It was they who perceived what the pointed arch contained, it was they who awakened the latent principle, applied it to their buildings, taught all their parts to shoot upwards, obtained elevation, lightness, grace, and in fact *created* the Pointed

style of the north."—Gally Knight's *Italy*. Introduction, p. 9.

"The Pointed arch is only one element of the Pointed style, though it is the chief one. Verticality, as opposed to horizontality, was the real principle, and this seems to have been suggested by the pointed arch. But the mere use of the pointed arch alone would not make a Gothic building."—Paley's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 65.

section and surface ornament which it still retained. He had to develop other and more harmonious forms, and those mostly out of his own stores ; for his Arabian stock could supply nothing beyond foliation, chamfers, octagonal pillars, and the rudest approach to tracery. And even of these the first would be rather an incumbrance ; until an appropriate form of moulding had been devised, foliation would be rather ludicrous than ornamental. The others certainly contain the germ of many of the best Gothic forms, but only the germ : the architect had to provide developments and applications of them utterly unknown to the infidel owners of the treasure. What these developments and applications were I have already attempted to show ; how, when the construction was once firmly established, they gradually supplanted the old Romanesque system of detail, will be the subject of the next chapter. The buildings in which this conflict is carried on are neither Romanesque nor Gothic, but the history of the Transition is manifestly a part of the history of Gothic architecture. It exhibits its early stages, when as yet it did not exist as a fully developed whole ; its first beginnings affected one part of the structure, its next steps another, till the whole has ceased to retain any trace of the Roman leaven, and stands forth a purely Gothic building, carrying out in every part that vertical principle which is the soul of Gothic architecture.

Another source from which, not indeed the construction, or many of the details, but much of the general effect and character of the style appears to have been derived, is the imitation of natural forests, and of artificial structures of posts and twigs. This opinion in different forms was very prevalent among the antiquarians of the last century, and has been enshrined in the poetry of one who, even in their own pursuit, might rank among the first of them. Sir Walter Scott's picture of Romanesque as exhibited at Lindisfarne describes that Abbey as being

" Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle, and shafted stalk,
The arcades of an alleyed walk
To emulate in stone."

And again in the still more famous description of Melrose,

"The pillars with clustered shafts so trim,
With base and with capital flourished around,
Seemed bundles of lances which garlands had bound."

And—

"The moon on the east oriel shone
Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
By foliated tracery combined ;
Thou wouldst have thought some fairy's hand
'Twixt poplars straight the osier wand,
In many a freakish knot had twined.
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow wreaths to stone."

And this testimony is the more valuable, as it is clear that the great poet took a very different view of the matter from the mass of those who have advocated an opinion nominally the same. He was not one who considered Gothic architecture as a method of building introduced by the Goths, or that the said Goths simply reproduced therein the gloom of the consecrated groves of Odin. Nor yet did he hold that the Gothic church immediately followed upon the wattled buildings of early times. He clearly understood and appreciated the difference between Romanesque and Gothic, and the intervention of the former style between the supposed originals and the copies, which Mr. Paley¹ truly considers to be the great difficulty in the way of such theories.

To look to the facts ; it is impossible to deny the resemblance between the long vista of a thick grove and a Gothic nave with its clustered pillars, its arches and ribs stretching forth in every direction and interlacing one with another, the tracery of its windows doing the like, all its choicest details imitating the vegetable world. No one probably contemplated a perfect Gothic interior without being reminded of such a grove, and no one who has ecclesiastical architecture much in his thoughts can enter such a grove without having a vision of some fair church instantly called up. The tall forest trees represent the nave, those of smaller growth aisles and cloisters. This resemblance is a phænomenon too striking to be merely accidental. If it

¹ Gothic Architecture, p. 89.

occurs to us, much more must it have done so to the builders of those days, when such groves and forests were objects far more frequently set before their eyes in all parts of the country than they are at the present day.

Nor is the position that Gothic architecture was very much influenced by ideas of this sort at all contrary to the views which have been already drawn out. To suppose that "all Gothic art is merely stone wicker-work,"¹ in the same sense that Grecian art is stone timber-work, rests upon no solid foundation, and it is indeed absolutely repudiated by the facts of history. The real state of the case seems very clearly and concisely put by Mr. Petit;² "Though we cannot look to groves or artificial structures of twigs and branches, as giving an origin to the style, they may have furnished ideas during its progress : the architect observed and was pleased with the resemblance as it grew upon him, and to this we may owe the intricate tracery of our windows, and the minute ramifications of our fan-vaultings." These however, it must be remarked, are among the portions of a building which go farthest to determine its general character.

We must therefore suppose that the architect, when he had established the pointed arch, and was in search of forms adapted to his new construction, turned his mind to the vegetable world, and there observed many appearances which he felt would harmonize with this design. If we grant the undeniable fact that foliated capitals have a vegetable origin, why may we not assign the same to the clustered pillars which support them? Such a belief no more involves assent to the notion of vegetable life being the sole origin of Gothic architecture, than the exactly analogous fact that the Egyptians erected not only capitals, but whole columns, in imitation of the palm tree can be brought to show that their architecture was not originally derived from excavations in the rock. And this view, while it fully accounts for the undeniable resemblance between the artificial and the natural object, is not open to the serious objections which lie against the old view of forests or wicker huts being the immediate and only source whence the most perfect form of architecture was derived.

¹ As quoted from Sir James Hall by Mr. Paley, *ut supra*.

² I. 118.

First, it is plain that both natural forests and artificial structures of wicker have contributed ideas to Gothic architecture. The clustered and banded pillar more closely represents a number of rods fastened together than any natural object whatever. On the other hand, the ramifications of vaulting, and still more several forms of tracery, are more easily derived from the natural grove. Some kinds of the latter indeed can have hardly any other origin. In the famous window at Dorchester, the artist indeed had a peculiar reason for imitating the branches of a tree ; but the fact that he preferred to execute his representation of the Root of Jesse in the stone-work of the window rather than, as was usual, in the stained glass, proves at least that he did not consider imitation of vegetable life to be an inappropriate source for forms of tracery. But more than this, we shall find a whole class of windows of the best period of tracery, whose type is essentially vegetable, so strikingly so that one cannot doubt that they are a direct imitation of the branches of a tree. We have then two sources of vegetable detail, which, though closely connected, are yet in fact totally distinct. If we believe Gothic architecture to be a mere copy of either, it must be of one only, it cannot be derived from both ; and consequently each has found advocates to put it forward as the sole origin of the style. But if we accept either in this capacity, the imitations of the other are left unaccounted for, while in the view I am endeavouring to draw out, the architect might naturally draw ideas from both of these, as indeed from the whole range of nature and art.

Secondly, the intervention of Romanesque is, as Mr. Paley hints, altogether fatal to the belief that the Gothic church is a reproduction either of the native forest or the structure of wattles, in the same sense as the Grecian temple is of the timber hut. A style which was such a mere copy must have followed immediately upon the original ; we cannot conceive a distinct and opposite style intervening between the wooden hut and the earliest Doric temple, nor yet on this view between the wattled church and some form of Gothic. But to draw ideas from any class of objects, in order to develop and enrich rather than to form a style, is a process which may surely take place at any time : and we have seen that the first introducers of the pointed arch were actually under a necessity of searching for details

which might harmonize with their design, which did not affect the builders of the previous style. Hence, it is not wonderful that the signs of vegetable origin are so much more strongly marked in Gothic buildings than in the antecedent Romanesque.

Thirdly, an objection, less strong than the last, but not without weight, has been alleged against the vegetable theory, that if such had been the origin of the style, the resemblance would have been most exact in the earlier specimens; whereas the forest is not so closely represented in the simple roof and plain lancets of Sarum, as in the woven ribs and branching tracery of York. It may be indeed answered, that one feature which has been already alluded to as one of the best instances of "stone wicker-work," the banded pillars, is chiefly confined to the earliest specimens. And it does not always follow that the earliest imitation should be the most exact, provided that the intention of imitation be continued in the later examples. Even without this cause of perpetuity, we have seen that the wide intercolumniations of the later Grecian edifices probably came nearer to the primitive model than the old Doric pycnostyle. Yet the general truth of the proposition must be admitted. The later Gothic is, as a whole, more forest-like than the earlier; and it certainly is the general tendency of styles of architecture as they advance to depart further from the sources to which they owe their origin. A Doric portico is, as a whole, more essentially wooden in its notion than a Corinthian one; Earl's Barton is a better specimen of "stone carpentry," than the Saxon towers at Lincoln. And the cause is plain, that such kinds of architecture resemble their wooden prototypes, not from a deliberate choice or preference, but from the want of other models and the architect's ignorance of any other way of building. Hence, whatever we say of Bishop Warburton's silvan architecture, where we might perhaps look for more deliberate imitation, and consequently for later improvements, with regard to Sir James Hall's stone wicker-work, its first estate would probably have been the most accurate copy, and would not have needed developing into a nearer resemblance to its model. But against the view I am supporting the objection has no force at all; the brief outline of it which I have adopted from Mr. Petit implies deliberate choice and deliberate imitation; and consequently nothing could be more

natural than that successive ages should both suggest new features for imitation, and develop into greater exactness of resemblance those which were imitated from the first.

I have thus endeavoured to answer the principal objections which I have seen advanced by others, or which have occurred to myself, against the combined *Ostrogothic*¹ and vegetable theory, as well as to state the probabilities on which it rests. But of course no theory can be found which will explain every detail of the style, far less the singularities of particular buildings. The architects, or rather the workmen, always drew largely on their own imaginations for the smaller details as well as for the general conception; and no system can be made to dovetail in with all their individual vagaries. While no style has greater unity than Gothic in its grand idea, none allows greater licence alike in outline and in detail. But certainly the present theory seems to explain more of the features of Gothic art, and that with less difficulty, than any other which I have met with.

We may then define Gothic architecture as a style whose main principle is verticality, a principle suggested by the pointed arch and carried out in its accompanying details; and give as a summary of its origin, that the pointed arch, together with some other details, was borrowed from Arabian architecture; while others were developed in harmony with them, some of the most important, and those most affecting the general character of buildings, being derived from imitations of natural and artificial combinations of vegetable objects; and finally that the style thus formed was not introduced as a whole, but was gradually engrafted on the preceding Romanesque. We have now to examine the process by which this was effected.

¹ "Some traced the pointed arch to the countries of the East; and these persons were, by their brother antiquaries, playfully termed *Ostro-*

goths. They have always been a powerful body, and I perceive that Mr. Willis himself joins this Eastern horde." Whewell, p. 6.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE TRANSITION FROM ROMANESQUE TO GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

AFTER the long period during which Romanesque architecture had prevailed throughout the whole of Western Europe, and had been brought by the labours of so many eminent, though too often nameless, men, to the perfection which we see in our great Norman cathedrals, it was not to be expected that it would, without a struggle, resign its supremacy to a style founded on totally different principles, and whose ideal of beauty was altogether at variance with its own. For such, with all its resemblances, we cannot but consider the Gothic to be ; massiveness and lightness, undisturbed rest and the most rapid extension, a severe individuality of parts and their most entire subordination to the whole, are no less discordant as principles of art than the moral teaching of the two styles is altogether different in its origin and expression. The resemblance consists in the affinity which two genuine and consistent forms of arched architecture could hardly fail to possess, in a certain impress of nationality, and, above all, in the essentially Christian character of both. The highest efforts of each were bestowed to reproduce the same type of building, and devoted to the same use, and we are therefore accustomed to class them together; but the thoroughly different, and even contradictory character of the two, considered as styles of architecture, cannot be too constantly borne in mind.

Gothic architecture, in its complete development, was not a ready-made style which might be at once introduced by mere imitation, as any foreign form of art might be introduced at present, or as we see Egyptian and Chinese buildings occasionally imitated as toys for the amusement of a wayward and perverted taste. It existed only in idea ; its great principles had taken root in the minds of its inventors, but their application had to be worked by a series of experiments out of the materials afforded by the existing style. Practice only could reveal the

method by which each feature of detail could be brought into harmony with the necessarily indistinct conception which they were endeavouring to carry out.

Even where there is direct imitation of existing models, and direct contempt of a preceding style, the force of habit is such that ideas borrowed from the latter continue to prevail. Long after buildings began to be reared in direct imitation of the Italian style, the Gothic principle retained a powerful influence over the minds of the very men who were striving to eradicate its glories. But much stronger must this influence be where there are no such models, where all that the architect can do is to endeavour to engraft his new principles upon the old style, and gradually develop something that may realize his idea. And when we further consider that then, as at all times, there must have been artists of inferior powers, content to follow in the wake of the master minds of the age, and to copy their forms without a full appreciation of their spirit, we can readily account for every degree of confusion of the principles and details of Romanesque and Gothic architecture.

How far the vertical notion had entered into the minds of the later Romanesque architects is an extremely difficult question. But it is clear that their opportunities of expressing it must have been small before the introduction of the pointed arch allowed them to apply its dictates to the most important of all constructive features. The introduction of the new form into the main arcades at once changed the character of the style, for the Gothic architects, unlike the Saracens, immediately clothed the new construction with an appropriate form of detail. The struggle between the new and old forms, both of detail and construction, continued in full force during the whole latter half of the twelfth century, and the period might be extended both ways. The first germ of the Gothic appears earlier, the dying throes of Romanesque were prolonged much later: for a building that exhibits a single pointed arch has ceased to be pure Romanesque, while one that retains a single round one, in any important position, has no claim to be considered as pure Gothic. The various combinations of the two, spread over so long a period, form one of the most interesting points of our whole history; every conceivable juxtaposition of the two is found,

not only every intermediate stage, but unmixed details of both intermingled with each other; whole buildings, exhibiting the two styles in tolerable purity, will be found nearly contemporary with one another. The finest of our Romanesque naves, those of Ely and Peterborough, are actually later in date than the advanced Transition of Canterbury choir, and but very little earlier than the pure Lancet architecture of the eastern chapels at Winchester. It is manifest then that, in some cases at least, the decaying style was retained in deliberate preference to the new.

There can be little doubt but that the pointed arch was the first, as it is the most important, Gothic feature which was introduced. I mean its regular employment in the principal arcades, which is something altogether different from its incidental use when dictated by some particular convenience or caprice. It is not unusual to find the pointed arch when no other Gothic feature occurs. In the rudest possible Romanesque, that of the Jersey churches, the pointed arch prevails, but as it occurs almost exclusively in barrel-vaults and in lanterns adapted to their form, it is hardly fair to adduce them as examples of genuine Transition. But abundant examples remain in English churches of the pointed arch occurring where everything else is thoroughly Romanesque. In the abbeys of Buildwas and Malmsbury, and elsewhere, the pointed arch, perfectly plain and retaining the square section, is supported by purely Romanesque cylindrical piers. The magnificent ruins of Glastonbury exhibit the same stage of development in a more light and ornate form, but the ornaments lavished on the pointed arches are still Romanesque. But, above all, the Transitional parts of Canterbury Cathedral afford the most superb examples of this period in all England; the round and pointed arches are here mixed, though the latter predominates, and the details are of an equally mixed character.

All these are instances of the general rule that the pointed pier-arch is the earliest Gothic feature that was introduced. There are however some notable examples to the contrary, as sometimes even pier-arches are round when otherwise they might have been called Gothic. In the beautiful nave of Barnack church¹ two of the arches are of an almost classical Romanesque,

¹ The continued use of the round arch, both in pier-arches and elsewhere, is a local peculiarity of Northamptonshire.

while the remainder, though round, have Early Gothic mouldings, and rise from genuine clustered pillars of that style. But the greatest example is Romsey Abbey,¹ in the nave of which the gradual introduction of every Gothic feature may be distinctly traced, and here the round arch is retained after the mouldings are very far advanced towards the perfect Gothic.

The pointed arch is applied to arches of *construction* before it is extended to arches of *decoration*. In all transitional styles the new principle of construction is brought into play before it had developed for itself an appropriate system of ornament, and consequently the old principle of decoration is retained. Almost all the churches of the Transition are entered by round-headed doorways, and over the pointed pier-arches is usually a clere-story of round-headed windows. The exception in Oxford Cathedral is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that the pier-arches were retained from an elder church. But where there was no such special reason, the reverse order is the usual progress of the development. The windows in the Temple Church and in St. Sepulchre, Northampton, are round-headed; at St. Cross,² every pier-arch, every vaulting-arch, is pointed, but the pointed form does not occur in the windows till they are completely Gothic in other respects.

And this is still more strongly the case with regard to doorways. There was no feature on which more care and ornament was bestowed by our English architects of the Romanesque period, and none which attained a higher degree of beauty at their hands. The Romanesque doorway therefore stood its ground longer than the Romanesque pier or window; not only was it often retained when the rest of the contemporary church was destroyed, but it continued to be reproduced in nearly all its fulness after the days of pure Gothic had set in. Our Transitional churches afford numerous examples of beautiful round-headed doorways, whose mouldings exhibit a mixture of Romanesque and early Gothic details, the chevron for instance and the tooth-ornament side by side, with a great predominance of sectional mouldings; Cuddesden church affords two excellent examples.

¹ See Mr. Petit's description in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1845.

² See the author's description of St. Cross, in the same volume of Proceedings.

Others again retain the round arch with purely Gothic mouldings, a feature prevalent throughout the whole of the Lancet style, though certainly a lingering trace of Romanesque.

In some foreign countries the development took a contrary stage, the pointed doorway appearing, long before the introduction of any other Gothic feature, in the Lombard and Provençal forms of Romanesque. "The round-headed doorways," observes Mr. Petit, "of St. Michele and other churches of Pavia, which are much higher than our Norman ones, might have been considered ungraceful in their proportions, while the architect was not willing to dispense with height, nor able, without spoiling the whole front, to obtain greater width: the resource was a pointed arch."¹ These examples however, which have simply a pointed arch introduced for convenience in one particular kind of position, without affecting the general character of the style, are hardly to be reckoned as genuine Transition. In England, where we may fairly say that the Romanesque doorway attained a much higher degree of perfection than in any other country, and was built, moreover, of a proportion far better adapted to the form of arch employed, the round arch, as we have seen, long maintained its supremacy, and the pointed arch with Romanesque details, so common as a pier-arch, is comparatively seldom found in doorways.²

The next of the Gothic features enumerated in the last chapter was the new form of abacus, round or octagonal instead of square. As the pointed arch was the first, the round abacus was the last feature of the new style to come into general use; the Romanesque form survived all the other details of that style. Even in England we find it where every arch is pointed, and every moulding Early Gothic, and this not, like the continued use of the round arch, confined chiefly to a single architectural feature or to a few geographical localities; its continuance is universal. It prevails in the nave of Wells Cathedral; and even in Romsey Abbey, where the pointed arch is not the first Gothic feature to appear, its first appearance is still accompanied with

¹ Church Architecture, i. 117.

² The west door at Rothwell is a well known and splendid exception—the whole church is one of

the finest studies of the Transition:—others occur at Sleaford, Brackley, &c.

the square abacus, the Gothic form of this last feature being a still later development. Every student will remember numberless instances of the kind, while, on the other hand, examples of a round abacus preceding other Gothic features are excessively rare. A few may occur in pillars, as in the destroyed Church of St. Thomas at Winchester; but in that portion of the building, an opening had been made for its introduction; by the incidental similarity of the round impost of many cylindrical piers.¹ The octagonal abacus, though much less frequently employed than the round in Early Gothic, may probably have been actually the earlier form. The abaci in the Roman Ionic and Corinthian orders are quasi-octagonal, the angles of the square being chamfered off; and similar examples occur in the choir of Canterbury; the step from this to the genuine octagonal abacus with equal sides is very easy.

The square abacus appears to have prevailed in doorways longer than elsewhere; probably because it is so often the continuation of a string following the angles of the rectangular mass on which the shafts are set. To round it off in such a position is manifestly a farther development than the similar treatment of a shaft standing detached, or projecting from the surface of a wall.

With regard to the pillars, the course of the Transition runs almost parallel with the development of the Gothic abaci. A thoroughly Norman pillar is but rarely found with a round abacus, or a true Gothic one with a square; the long continuance of the latter is, in England at least, chiefly confined to the smaller decorative shafts. Thus wherever the square abacus occurs, it will be found that the pier itself still retains strong traces of Romanesque; it is not the true Gothic cluster, but the rectangular mass with shafts in the angles. And where these forms are intermingled, as in the chancel of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, the square abacus still crowns the Romanesque respond, while it is a true clustered pillar which alone is finished with the round. But before this great change had come over the style, the approaching Gothic had already exercised no slight influence over the forms assumed by the piers. The massive cylindrical pier seems to have gradually gone out of fashion

¹ See above, page 241.

during the Transitional period; it is common enough at its commencement, but it is not usual to find examples like the nave of St. Cross, where this form of pier is continued with Early Gothic detail. The rectangular pier becomes much less massive, the shafts attached more numerous, and the spaces between them little more than projecting angles, so that a great step is made towards the true clustered column. The columnar pier too becomes more elongated, as at Barnack and Polebrook. The only instance of its occurring to any great extent in an English cathedral of this date is found in the Corinthianizing columns of the Metropolitan church. This is essentially a foreign feature, and may doubtless be attributed to the Continental birth of William of Sens. The octagonal form also becomes more common; in the nave of Oxford Cathedral, and some parts of Peterborough, we have round and octagonal piers alternately.

We now come to the introduction of the fourth Gothic feature, the mouldings. The introduction of mere rounds, attached to surfaces and set in angles, like shafts, presents of itself no approximation to the Gothic system of breaking up the original section. But though not in themselves Transitional, and actually adding heaviness to the heavy Romanesque, they seem to have prepared the way for Gothic mouldings. The heaviness of the rounds is removed by inserting a hollow between; and when this is done, the plane of the arch is now cut into, its section is altered, and Gothic mouldings have begun. This process seems to have commenced, in buildings at least of any richness, soon after the introduction of the pointed arch; the mouldings have made considerable advances at Canterbury, Romsey, and St. Cross. In the first stage the new system is made only to affect each order of the arch, so that the mouldings do not take in the whole arch at one sweep, but form strongly marked groups according to the orders of the arch. Thus sometimes, especially in doorways, one order will be channelled with a series of sectional mouldings, while another is left square, and its enrichment derived from surface-carving.

We shall also find important changes affecting capitals and bases. It is very remarkable that the first step towards the development of the foliated Gothic capital should also have been a marked return towards classical models. The capitals at Canter-

bury, and those figured in the Glossary from Soissons and Blois, are much more accurate imitations of the Corinthian than those of the earlier days of Romanesque. But the reason is clear ; the Romanesque capital is a sculptured mass, the Corinthian and the Early Gothic are alike a bell with projecting foliage ; so that an approach to the one must necessarily be so far an approach to the other. The change in the form of capital was a necessary portion of the Gothic development ; and it is not to be wondered at if its first application should approximate to the forms which had always hitherto been more or less objects of imitation. The true Gothic foliage however differs widely from the Corinthian, and, though infinitely diversified, retains a character of its own. It is a distinction rather to be at once perceived by the eye than explained by description. The earliest form, with which alone we are at present concerned, is remarkable for the profuse use of stalks with trefoil leaves, which at once distinguishes it from Classical and Romanesque sculpture. The cushion capital, especially in its multiplied form, survived through the Transitional period, and has left traces of itself in the Early Gothic, both on the ponderous columns of St. Cross, and the soaring clusters of St. Cuthbert's at Wells.

In the bases also there is a return, whether accidental or designed it might be difficult to determine, to the models afforded by Classical antiquity. That the Early Gothic¹ base is identical with the Attic has often been observed ; its mouldings are the same, a hollow between two rounds, though, as the Grecian examples differ greatly from one another in the proportions given to these mouldings, the Gothic bases vary still more, and an infinite improvement is effected in the scotia, or hollow, "being contracted in width and cut much deeper, which produces a strongly marked and very effective shadow."² In another respect, however, there is a deviation from classical precedent ; the plinth had hitherto been usually square, but now it becomes of a form more adapted to the mouldings above, and to the shaft itself, namely round or octagonal. This, of course, tends to the fusing of parts together, and, as far as regards the

¹ That namely which is distinctive of the style, not that it is by

any means universally found in it.

² Glossary, Art. Base.

column itself, is strikingly analogous to the change in the form of the abacus, although of much less importance in the general aspect of a building. These changes commence during the period of Transition, but the square plinths extended into the Early Gothic.

The use of decorative arcades is continued to a great extent during this period. The west front of Ely Cathedral is a superb example of this kind. We here find the round, pointed, and trefoil arches used promiscuously, and a frequent use of quatrefoils as ornaments.

The windows differ from those of the pure Romanesque chiefly in the form of the arch, preserving the short and broad proportions of the common Norman shafted window. They appear to be more frequently preserved in towers than elsewhere. The arches are often very obtusely pointed, and are sometimes not struck from two centres at all, but are merely semicircular arches with the apex somewhat raised. In Canterbury Cathedral the round, the pointed, and the trefoil arch, all occur in Transitional windows, as well as some of circular form. The occurrence of these last, at least of any size and with diverging shafts or mullions, is, in English Romanesque, looked upon as a sign of Transition. It is, however, merely a sign of date, as they do not seem suggestive of any Gothic principle, and had been long before commonly used in the Romanesque of Lombardy.

We will now turn our view to other countries. The Transition in France would seem, from the accounts of Dr. Whewell and Mr. Petit, not to have been continued during so long a period, or to have presented so severe a struggle as in England. The development far outran us in some respects, and in others fell far short of us; hence the peculiar character of the French Early Gothic to be hereafter spoken of. The traceried window especially seems to have been known almost from the first introduction of the pointed arch; and a building which systematically employs such windows, together with the pointed arch, can hardly be called anything but Gothic, though strong traces of Romanesque may linger about it in other respects. No one would call Amiens a Transitional church. French architecture passed gently from Romanesque to complete Geometrical Gothic, effecting to a certain extent a compromise with the preceding style. Hence, as the

pure Lancet style barely exists, so the Transition, as we have it in England, occurs less extensively, and is for the most part a kind of Lancet style retaining generally the square abacus.

To this class may be referred most of the French churches enumerated by Mr. Petit in his chapter on the Transition style. Geneva, Lausanne, Dijon, Lisieux, St. John at Brussels, seem mostly to answer this description. Many of these are exceedingly splendid buildings, and in general effect differ but little from our Lancet style; still the Romanesque leaven lurks about them in sufficient strength to prevent their being altogether classed with it. Some have splendid fronts, which, as generally exhibiting the arcade as their chief ornament, instead of the prominent rose-window and the gigantic doorway, approach very near to our Lancet compositions. Still a square abacus, a Romanesque moulding, an intermingled round arch, show that we are hardly yet in the region of pure Gothic. The abaci are intermixed, round, octagonal, and square, the latter seeming to prevail; and columns of semi-classical character, of which Canterbury affords almost a solitary instance in England, are frequently employed. Lancet windows, of various proportions, but often very short and broad, are most usual; but circular windows, with or without tracery, and occasionally large pointed windows without tracery, occur. The tooth-moulding is rare, and, when it occurs, is not cut with the same boldness as in England.

It is perhaps in outline that the change from Romanesque is most perceptible. Sometimes, as at Lisieux, the heavy Norman grouping is preserved, but in other cases tall towers begin to shoot up, and it is perhaps in their details that we may, with Dr. Whewell, best trace the gradual development of the style. In all we may see a feature which marks them as greatly advanced over our Transitional buildings, the liberal use of boldly projecting, and even flying, buttresses. In short these are Gothic churches; they are a very severe variety of our Lancet style, retaining some Romanesque features, especially in the shafts and piers.

The German Transition, so elaborately drawn out by Dr. Whewell, and so beautifully illustrated by Mr. Petit, appears to be a style of much greater interest and importance. The only point in which the course of development in Germany at all ap-

proximates to the French is that both pass from Romanesque to Geometrical, without stopping to produce, as in our own country, a complete Gothic style with lancet windows. Otherwise the aspect of the Transition is totally different in the two countries; in France it is Gothic with a lingering trace of Romanesque, in Germany, Romanesque with a slight approximation to Gothic. It must not however be supposed that Germany was at all behind the rest of Western Christendom in architectural development; the reverse is notoriously true, as no country sooner produced complete and beautiful Gothic buildings. It would seem that a fact which we have observed¹ to a certain extent in England was of wider application in Germany, namely the simultaneous employment of Romanesque and Gothic. There is little doubt that Romanesque was used in Germany during the first part of the thirteenth century, contemporary with the earliest Gothic buildings of that country; Romanesque, if not altogether pure, yet still, if a hard line is to be drawn, certainly to be called Romanesque and not Gothic. It is easily to be conceived that, if a direct contest between the two styles took place in England, much more might it be looked for in those parts of Germany where the arts and civilization of Rome had left traces so much more enduring and extensive. It would seem that in Germany Gothic architecture rose much more suddenly, and presented itself in an almost complete form, while Romanesque was still in being; it was not, as in England, developed out of Romanesque, but appeared as an antagonist style. Hence the hard struggle between the two forms, and the Romanesque character of the German Transition; which does not so much approximate to the Gothic, as borrows a few of its forms, such as might be adapted to its own principles and its own construction. In the beautiful words of Mr. Petit, "while in other countries the Romanesque features faded gradually away before the new style of architecture, Rhenish Germany clung to them to the last, and abandoned them with manifest reluctance; as if that mighty river, that bore the tide of Roman civilization into the heart of Europe, had infused into the nations through which it flowed, a veneration of Roman memorials; with a wish to preserve and perpetuate them, by establishing

¹ See above, page 323.

according to the principles of their construction, a kindred and lasting style of their own.”¹

While examining its features more at length, we shall be struck with its utter diversity from our own Transition ; with us the pointed pier-arch is the very first Gothic feature introduced ; in Germany it often remains round, as at Bonn, while in other respects the building has made some progress towards Gothic. In England again the pier for the most part gains in height, in Germany it becomes broader and lower than heretofore. These circumstances however may be easily explained ; pointed vaulting having been already introduced from reasons of convenience, a similar feeling² to that which introduced the pointed lantern arches of the Provençal churches, might dictate the use of the pointed arch in the clerestory at Bonn, while there was no such reason for altering the accustomed form of the pier-arches. This is of course a cause which in England, where vaulting large spaces was hardly practised before the Transitional period, could have no influence to disturb the natural progress of the development. The shortening the pier arises from another source, the introduction of the triforium, which had maintained a dubious existence in the pure Romanesque of Germany, but during the Transition came into extensive use, not only as an architectural feature, but as an actual gallery to receive part of the congregation. The natural effect of this was to shorten the pier, as it was manifestly desirable to have the gallery as little exalted as might be consistent with the general character of the building. The same cause might also tend to continue the use of the round arch, as the pointed must either have raised the whole arcade, or still farther diminished the height of the piers.

The rectangular mass of the Romanesque pier is preserved, but it is more and more broken up by shafts in the angles ; and the columns and pilasters lose their classical proportions. Still the tendency to flat pilasters and the general treating of flat surfaces as shafts prevails ; it is very manifest at Bonn. Where columns are employed, as in apses, they are often clustered in twos and threes. The windows become larger than in the pure Romanesque, and exhibit a great intermixture of round and pointed arches. A disposition to group windows in triplets

¹ I. 150.

² See above, page 224.

prevails to a certain extent ; the clerestory at Bonn hardly differs, except in the square abaci, from those of our own Early Gothic. Circular windows are also found, and a very characteristic form is introduced, namely the German fan-light, a multifoil with its lower part squared off, or, as Dr. Whewell¹ describes it, "the upper part of a circle (more than half) of which the circumference is cut into round notches." Decorative arches have, like our own, the round, pointed, and trefoil forms intermingled. The doorways are usually round-headed, retaining the sculptured tympanum.

It is however in the external outline that we may most plainly discern the change which had come upon German architecture since the days of Spires and Laach. Not that this has anything directly to do with the introduction of the Gothic style ; though it would seem only reasonable that the approach of the most perfect form of architecture, the noblest and most genuine creation of the Church, should be attended by a conformity in the plan of the buildings themselves to the general practice of the rest of Christendom. The varied and picturesque outline of the earlier German Minster was the result of as great an ecclesiastical anomaly, not to say corruption, as can be imagined ; the double choir is the mainspring of the whole system. This now gradually vanishes, and with it its natural accompaniments, the western apse and octagon, though a trace of the old resemblance of the east and west ends is to be found in the frequent retention of the pair of eastern towers, especially in such cases as Andernach, where there are two at each end without any central lantern. But most commonly the churches of the Transition exhibit the central and western towers of our own churches, the eastern pair shrinking into mere turrets ; this order however, is sometimes reversed, and the principal towers are found at the east end.

The towers exhibit the same diversity of capping which is so remarkable in the German Romanesque, but the pitch of the gables becomes higher, and the cornice under them lighter. Both the towers and the spires which crown them gain in height and lightness. To judge from those churches of which I have seen engravings, the central lantern seems to be usually octagonal

¹ Page 110.

and the subordinate towers square. The octagon itself becomes higher and lighter, losing the character of the cupola in that of the tower. Nothing can surpass the combination of that of Bonn with its lofty spire, soaring over the smaller steeples flanking the apse.

The apse itself exhibits one of the most remarkable changes introduced by the Transition. From semicircular, it now becomes polygonal. This is a necessary result of the employment of the pointed arch, which, as Mr. Petit¹ observes, "can scarcely be said to be perfect while it exhibits a double curvature, which must be the case if it be placed in a convex wall." It would appear that this very important development is due to the architects of Rhenish Germany, where it appears in churches where the style differs but little from Romanesque. In France, on the contrary, churches far more advanced retain the semicircular termination.

It may however admit of a question, whether the explanation above given, although undoubtedly true, contains the whole of the truth. The use of the polygonal form is itself a Gothic development, apart from any consideration of its being better adapted to a particular form of arch. The continuous sweep of the circle is better adapted to Romanesque, and, as a general rule, to somewhat massive and squat proportions, and to unbroken, and—if it be not a contradiction in terms—flat surfaces. But the polygonal form is altogether in harmony with the aspiring character of Gothic architecture; the angles afford a strong vertical line, and the tall narrow faces are exactly what the style delights in; besides the opportunity given for buttresses, pinnacles, and a form of roof more aspiring than the loftiest cone. That the polygon is not suited for a structure of very great height, and is therefore more frequently used as a finish for a square tower than as the form of the tower itself, is owing to the very fact that this shape gives so much greater apparent height and slenderness than any other, that a tower which is octagonal from the base ought to cover a greater extent of ground-plan than a square one of the same elevation. For this reason a polygonal respond or decorative shaft is seldom pleasing, though of course the application of the form to such features, as well as to pillars, bases, abaci, fonts, pulpits, &c., are all applications of the same

¹ I. 139.

principle. In most of these the form of the arch can have no influence whatever.

That the German Transitional apse is an example of this aspiring character of the polygon there can be no doubt. It becomes loftier, often equalling the choir in height, and begins to be, like those of complete Gothic churches, rather a termination of the choir than a distinct attached building. The gables with which the sides are finished, though clearly borrowed from the accustomed finish of towers, point in the same direction, and as far as regards the compartments themselves, with admirable effect. But with regard to the general outline, they are not desirable, as the manner in which they require to be joined to the main roof of the apse is decidedly clumsy, and too much like domestic work. Hence they seem to have gone out of fashion in their own country, and not to have been introduced to any great extent elsewhere. It is in these apses also that the buttress first makes its appearance; it has a pedimental capping, but is for the present of very modest projection.

As was to be expected, the polygonal form is not confined to the apse, but is generally substituted for the circular on all occasions on which the latter was employed in the unmixed Romanesque. Thus the round turrets which had been previously common seem at least to become more rare. But the most important application of this new form is in polygonal churches, which are the manifest successors of the old round ones; and it shows most strikingly the great and necessary influence of this change, that it should have affected buildings so rare and of so peculiar a character. The most remarkable instance is the polygonal church of St. Gereon, at Cologne, which is a late example of Transition, (being built, according to M. de Lassaulx,¹ between 1212 and 1227,) and has flying buttresses. Another is St. Matthew's Chapel on the Moselle, also of the thirteenth century. It is built on the general plan of a round church, but both aisles and clerestory are hexagonal; a semi-circular apse however is attached. The pier-arches are pointed, but the doorway and the arch into the apse are round-headed,

¹ Whewell, p. 211.

and without "not a pointed arch is to be seen; the trefoil arches appear to have been adopted as an appropriate Romanesque ornament, rather than as having a tendency towards Gothic; and the round-headed window and corbel-table prevail."¹ There are also some examples of the fan-light. We may also observe that this change to the polygon affected round churches even in England. St. Sepulchre at Northampton has its piers arranged on an octagon, which form is of course preserved in the clere-story; Little Maplestead, like St. Matthew's, with which Mr. Petit compares it, has a similar use of the hexagonal form; but in both these cases the outer walls are semicircular. Nowhere is the character of the German Transition better exemplified than in the magnificent Cathedral of Limburg.² One could hardly have supposed that a church so visibly belonging to an imperfect style could have been capable of such a sublime effect. But the reason is manifestly to be found in its very slight deviation from the old Romanesque model, upon the type of which it is conceived throughout. Though all the constructive, and most of the decorative arches, are pointed, and there is something very like tracery in the west front, yet the whole effect is Romanesque; the outline is one of the finest of that class, and in the magnificent interior the arches are perfectly plain, and the piers square masses with tall vaulting-shafts attached to the principal pairs.

The more the several features are examined of the German Transition, the more clearly does it appear to be, as Mr. Petit says, only a "modified Romanesque." It is not even a lifeless Gothic, its whole character and conception belong to the elder style. Within, the change is really little more than an occasional use of the pointed arch; without, the appearance is more altered, but is still essentially Romanesque and not in any degree Gothic. The outline is somewhat different, but it is still one of essentially the same kind; the towers retain the marked character of the German Romanesque; the numerous small stages and divisions remain as before; the windows may occasionally be pointed, but they are not elongated, so as to give an essentially different aspect to the tower, as in the contemporary French style. The

¹ Petit, i. 145. ² Illustrated in detail in Möller's *Denkmaler*.

parts both of arrangement and detail are the same; windows, pilasters, corbel-tables, preserve the same character, modified perchance in minuter respects; there are the same short choirs, the same central octagons, the same love of apses and turrets. Even the changes introduced at this time are by no means invariably approximations to Gothic, some of them "are in themselves," as Mr. Petit¹ observes, "by no means of a Transition character,—that is, calculated to advance the completion of Gothic,—but rather improvements and refinements on the Romanesque. I may instance the fan-window, and even the foliated circle. . . . Whether these are really improvements, . . . need not now to be discussed: they clearly were meant to be so; and showed a disposition to preserve and complete, rather than to abandon, the Romanesque."

We see then the entirely different course taken by the Transition in the three principal abodes of Gothic architecture. In France the Gothic style accomplished its victory too hastily for it to be quite complete; the conquest was but superficial; the old element still remained, no longer indeed predominant, but by no means eradicated. Germany exhibits a hard struggle between two equal powers, and for some time a divided empire; the capacities of the victor have therefore time to mature themselves before the fall of the rival style; there is no interregnum, but the vacant throne is at once filled naturally and gracefully. In England the Gothic principle arises as it were within the very camp of its adversary, and advances gradually and stealthily, winning some point at every step, till the process of encroachment is complete, and the rival forms have vanished one after another. France was the first to produce tall clerestories, flying buttresses, and traceried windows, while the pillars on which they rest are still more than half Romanesque. Germany, in her still Romanesque churches, developed the polygonal ground plan. But England did more; not only is her transition more gradual and consistent than that of either of her neighbours, she has a yet higher praise. Both of them passed at once from Romanesque to Geometrical Gothic; the struggle is between these two: the Romanesque pier often supports the Geometrical window; the Lancet window is everywhere a mark of transition. England has

¹ I. 80.

her Romanesque and her Geometrical in no less perfection than Germany or France, but, while they had but an intermingling of discordant elements, she produced a style of her own, inferior to none in purity of Gothic principle, and surpassing every other in the matchless beauty of its detail. Against the Romanesque of Bonn, and Sinzig, and the Church of the Apostles, against the imperfect Gothic of Lausanne and Nôtre Dame de Dijon, we have to set the pure and perfect Gothic of our first national architecture, that of Sarum, and Lincoln, and Ely's unrivalled Presbytery. This style is our own, but produced, not instead of, but in addition to Romanesque and Geometrical surpassed by no other country.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SUBDIVISIONS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

It has been remarked in an earlier chapter,¹ that the superiority of Gothic architecture, considered as an intellectual production, over all other forms of the art is nowhere more distinctly shown than in the nature of its subdivisions or subordinate styles. In treating of Romanesque, the divisions which we established were for the most part little more than national or geographical; we showed what particular variety of a style prevailed in such a country at such a time, but each had to be defined by details, there is no general idea pervading each. German and Norman Romanesque are very different, and we can, by attending to the peculiarities of outline and detail, readily distinguish them, but one could hardly define the distinction in a philosophical manner. It may be that Romanesque, as the architecture of rest, could not admit of different ways of expressing its idea, at least not of such as might be defined in this manner, while Gothic, the style of vertical extension, might allow several ways of attaining that extension. At all events we can define the different forms of Gothic architecture in a more perfect manner than by enumerating the details of each.

¹ See p. 27.

The forms of Gothic architecture, as they occur in this country, are usually stated as three, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular. The absurdity of the names has been already sufficiently exposed, and another nomenclature, namely First-Pointed, Middle-Pointed, and Third-Pointed, has been latterly used in the publications of the Ecclesiological Society. This is intended to be applied not only to English architecture, but to Gothic in general. In this I cannot but think that it fails. "First-Pointed," in any form worthy the name of Gothic, is exclusively English; "Third-Pointed" must denote two such different styles as Flamboyant and Perpendicular; to yoke which under one title is clearly inconsistent in writers¹ who assert the former, and deny the latter, to be a legitimate development of the Gothic principle.

On the other hand the division which will be here adopted, one practically identical with that drawn out by Mr. Petit, and which has, implicitly at least, the further sanction of Dr. Whewell,² will recognize but two distinct forms of Gothic architecture, those namely which Mr. Petit has described as the Early Complete and Late Complete Gothic. These I call the Early and the Continuous Gothic, the former answering to the Early English and Geometrical Decorated of the common nomenclature, the latter including Flowing Decorated, Flamboyant, and Perpendicular. An objection has been made that the two names do not exactly harmonize or balance each other, and I quite feel that a descriptive name for the Early style, could I have found an appropriate one, would have rendered it less imperfect. Yet Early may be taken as being to a certain extent a descriptive term; it may very well imply a period when the architecture is actually complete, having the Gothic principle sufficiently developed to mark it as not belonging to an imperfect style, and yet when it has not fully developed all its capabilities. But however this may be, I will no longer detain the reader from Mr. Petit's masterly description of the characters of the two styles. "We now come to the full development of the style, in what

¹ Ecclesiologist, V. 235, 241.

Churches, especially in the original

² Unless I greatly misunderstand many indications in his German

Preface, and in chapter ii., sect. 3.

may be called the Early Complete Gothic. In this we find shafts of great height clustered together, with delicately flowered capitals, and a round or polygonal abacus : lofty pointed arches, with rich and deep mouldings ; ribbed vaults, and windows formed of a combination of lights with geometrical tracery. Flying buttresses, elegant pinnacles, and angular canopies, which are often crocketed, enrich the exterior. Foliation is used freely, but is not essential. The shaft is introduced abundantly, and may be said to mark the style in large buildings. Some of our most finished Early English and Early Decorated churches represent this style in perfection ; and fine examples abound on the Continent. We might name Cologne, the nave of Strasburg, parts of Freyburg, Amiens, and many others.

“Yet, complete and beautiful as this style is, it was perhaps felt to have a certain degree of severity, which might lead it into the danger of becoming monotonous. A new element was therefore introduced—a prevalence of angular edges, instead of convex or cylindrical surfaces : by means of these, with narrow flat faces and bold concavities, a rich effect is produced, at less expense and in greater variety. Shafts with capitals, though often used, were no longer the same prominent feature ; foliation became much more necessary. A great alteration took place in the tracery, which, instead of being formed of geometrical figures touching each other, branched out into ramifications, either in free and bold curves, as in our Late Decorated and the continental Flamboyant, or in lines preserving the vertical direction of the mullions, as in our Perpendicular. The mullion itself also had a more decided character, and not only appeared in the window, but was often repeated in panelling over a large surface of the building. The form of the arch, too, was more varied, especially at a late period ; and transoms, and even square heads to windows, were admitted, by which they might be more easily adapted to the space they were designed to occupy. This style we will call the Late Complete Gothic, which both in England and on the Continent comprehends a very extensive range of buildings.”¹

Such are the chief characteristics of the two styles as exhibited in their details. We must now see how far those details

¹ I. 20—22.

are but the index of a pervading principle in each ; or, more strictly, of two distinct ways of carrying out the general Gothic principle. In Romanesque architecture, as was natural, and even necessary, in a style whose chief aim was the negation of all extension, the parts, even to the minutest detail, retain a severe separate existence, each may be contemplated as something by itself. Now as these separate points are stoppages to the vertical progress of the eye, it is the natural tendency of Gothic architecture to destroy this separate existence of the parts, and to subordinate them to the whole, so that they cannot be contemplated apart from it. And the extent which is allowed to this principle seems to mark the distinction between the two great divisions of Gothic. The Early is marked by the application of the principle of destroying the separate existence of parts only to the construction of the primary parts of the building—that is, it subordinates the shaft and capital and arch to the whole formed by them, the pier-arch, the triforium, the window, &c., without completely subordinating these to the whole ; the secondary parts lose their separate existence, but the primary ones retain theirs. They still remain distinct, united by harmonious juxtaposition, but not actually fused into a single existence. The Continuous on the other hand effects the subordination of the secondary parts more completely, while it extends the application of the principle to the farther subordination of the primary parts to the whole, so that the parts sink into nothing of themselves, but exist merely as parts of the whole. The beauty then of the Early is that of parts ; the slim and delicate shaft, the graceful foliage of the capital, the bold rounds and hollows of the mouldings, not only exist, but are brought into prominent notice, they are forced on the eye at the first glance ; in the Continuous they are not noticed, if they exist, but it is the whole alone that is seen and contemplated. Hence of course the details of the Early style are in themselves far more graceful ; the nave of Canterbury cannot boast of the rich foliage or toothing of the presbytery of Ely ; its beauty is that of the perfect whole, whose parts exist but in and through that which they constitute.

Let us now see how this principle is really carried out in buildings of the Continuous styles, the late Decorated and Per-

pendicular ; and first as to the primary parts. One of the most remarkable instances is in the disposition to do away with anything like an unoccupied surface, a mere wall ; this is accomplished by making the parts as much as possible fit into one another. A fully developed building of the Continuous style will have its window-arches correspond as nearly as possible with those of the vaulting, so that the window fits into the roof ; the triforium will sink into a mere panelling, so that scarcely anything will be left unoccupied but the spandrls of the pier-arches, which, if ornamented in the usual manner, will form a whole together with the arch ; and the lines of panelling being continued in the window tracery, and the vaulting springing from shafts rising from the ground, every part will be connected and fit in with every other part, and the general effect will be that of a perfect unbroken whole, where no individual part is allowed to break the order of subordination.

The carrying out of the Continuous principle is manifest in all the details ; everything that could hinder the vertical progress of the eye is omitted ; the panel is substituted for the arcade, the shaft is no longer necessary for the jamb of the richest window, and a new form of pier arises more consistent with the style ; even in the cusping of windows, though now become, not a mere addition to the richness of a building, but an actual essential to the production of any degree of beauty, we may observe the more complete subordination of parts, as the cusps do not now stand out individually and distinctly, as is often the case in the Early style.

One or two of the details mentioned in the above rapid sketch may be worthy of a more particular notice. I allude especially to the use of *foliation* and of *decorative shafts*,—features which in practice occupy a somewhat analogous position in the two systems. Foliation was observed just above to be in the Early a mere luxury, the omission of which¹ never ruins a design, and sometimes improves it, in the Continuous style it is absolutely necessary both in panelling and tracery. Similarly in a rich Early building we naturally look for shafts in almost every

¹ I mean in arches, whether in windows or in decorative arcades ; upon as of the same nature, and its omission always involves meagreness. the foliation of tracery I do not look

position, in a Continuous structure they are of little consequence, and in windows and surface decorations they are not required even in the most sumptuous structure.

The employment of the distinct shaft and arch in decoration seems one of the strongest conceivable instances of that retention of distinctness in the parts which marks the Early Gothic. A unity is thus given to the minutest details, every part of the main arcades of a church is paralleled in the decorative ones which run along its walls. We can at once distinguish the shaft from the arch which it supports, and capital, abacus, band, and base, increase the distinctness. Even the mullions of windows have shafts attached; and in windows not glazed, and in fenestri-form apertures, as triforia, the shaft itself often forms the mullion. But in the former position, as the mullion had another origin, namely in the piece of wall between two windows, the shaft was never so universal as elsewhere, and probably went soonest out of use. In no position does it more hinder continuity; not only is the tracery quite unconnected with the lights, but even the arches of these are cut off from their support. On the other hand the internal rear-arch of a window would probably be the last place where the shaft would retain its ground. As long as this opening was very much wider than that of the window, as in Early windows with a deep splay, the rear-arch was something distinct from that of the window, and often studiously received a different form. It was, except in the rare instances where it was filled with a second plane of tracery, an arch totally independent, leading to the window, but no more; no arch could more properly rest on a shaft, not a mere jamb-shaft, but an important decorative feature. Here again is a piece of separate existence to be destroyed; as the Continuous style advanced, windows grew larger, and their mullions became placed more in the centre of the wall; by these two means the splay and the distinct rear-arch are abolished, and we find only a small internal and external jamb, requiring merely to be moulded.

Panelling is the correlative to arcading, and the one gradually sunk into the other. The shaft gradually disappears, first, because the flow of the mullion and the arch is rendered more continuous, but mainly because a wider field is thus given for

carrying out an uniform design. Any number of decorative arcades may be placed one over another, but they have no connection with each other; they are so many horizontal bands. Substitute the mullion for the shaft, and a whole wall may be combined in one design; the mullion runs up the whole height, throwing off successive arches at different heights. Blank panelling, tracery, screen work, all present the same idea, under different modifications.

But the Continuous style was far from entirely rejecting the decorative shaft. Where distinctness could not be altogether destroyed, it was not disguised, but boldly marked. The arches of windows and of decorative arcades can be utterly fused into a whole; the doorway, and, still more, the pier-arch, do not admit of this treatment. Hence in these positions the shaft is still prevalent. The pier is no longer an assemblage of shafts, but becomes again, as in Romanesque, a mass with shafts attached, though now a mass carved, and channelled, and moulded. Hence the beautiful form of pier with continuous hollows, and shafted projections, the latter marking the constructive distinction of pier and arch, while continuity is preserved in the hollows; and above all, allowing one of its members to run up to the roof, without breaking in on the idea of the pier; which the Early pier, as an assemblage of shafts of equal height, cannot do.

Foliation is an important element of Gothic decoration, and in its perfect state, peculiar to the style; but as not being essential, nor a development of the vertical principle, it did not seem necessary to mention it among the characteristics of Gothic architecture. Foil arches are doubtless one of the Arabian features of the style; both these and foil figures occur, and were probably introduced together, and that very early, for, as we have seen, they occur in Transitional work. The Arabs also *fretted* arches with cusps dripping from their soffits; but real foliation seems to be a Gothic development from these elements. It originates, as Professor Willis, and after him Dr. Whewell and Mr. Paley have shown, from placing one plane of decoration behind another: that is from the arch of two orders and similar combinations. If the outer order be pointed, and the inner of a foil shape, foliation is at once produced; we have a foliated arch.

As applied to the two styles ; in the Early, foliated arches are common, but the foil arch is far more appropriate in decorative arcades. At all events no one ever missed foliation in such an arcade ; and indeed, unless a clustered shaft is employed, the effect is unsatisfactory. The foil order requires its proper decorative support, but is too completely subordinated to the pointed to obtain it. In the Continuous panelling it has a more intelligible position ; it is something between a mere projecting fretting and a separate order of another form ; it has its appropriate support in a distinct moulding. And this foliation is necessary to richness in this style, for this reason. The panel with its mullion and arch has ceased to be the distinct important feature that the old decorative arcade was ; it is not felt as a real constructive or decorative arch, but merely as a curve, like any other part of the tracery. Thus much moulding or other ornament cannot well be bestowed upon it, and the only enrichment of which it was capable was the variety afforded by foliation. And further, as Mr. Petit has drawn out at length,¹ in the Early style the circle predominates in tracery and in sections of mouldings ; in the Continuous, the point or angle.

But the feature in which after all the principles of the styles are most readily to be discerned is the tracery of windows. Here they are earliest carried out, as the progress of development is almost always quicker in them than in any other portion of a building, and is withal more regular and steady, for though the debatable ground between the two styles exhibits great confusion in the article of tracery, yet it is trifling compared with what we find in the other members. And above all, the distinctions as seen in tracery are brought more palpably and intelligibly before us ; they are more readily discerned, and admit of more satisfactory definition and nomenclature. Hence they seem to be the feature on which a nomenclature of the subordinate styles may be most safely constructed.

In the Early style then, the separate existence of parts is most strongly marked in the windows ;² they are either actually distinct lancets, or windows with tracery in which the most severe

¹ I. 176.

I cannot wish this better drawn

out than in the Ecclesiologist, V.
p. 230—2.

distinctness still prevails. Two, three, or more independent lights, like the members of an arcade, support certain figures, thrust in to fill up a gap between the heads of the lights and the window arch; but each light and each figure in the head is a complete unit, which may be conceived apart. The circles, the quatrefoils, touch one another, and touch the lights, but they only touch, they do not spring out of the lights, nor are they fused into one another. The desecrators of Tintern and Netley might, if it had so pleased them, have carried off every figure in their windows separately as a distinct whole, and there would have been nothing in the figure, as such, to show that it had ever been in connection with anything else. In a Continuous window, on the other hand, every part is brought into relation with, and is fused into, every other part; there is no break between the lights and the tracery; the latter is but a continuation of the mullions, whether such continuation be made by straight or by curved lines. It would be impossible to conceive any portion separate: each exists only as a part of the whole, and as connected with every other part. Instead of geometrical figures touching one another, we have piercings with a long tracery-bar common to more than one, and which consequently cannot exist apart. All these characters are common alike to its Flowing, Flamboyant, and Perpendicular varieties.

There are, however, a few points in which it might at first sight seem that the Continuous style is really less vertical than the Early, as bringing in a degree of horizontality. These are, the low gables and roofs, the use of towers without spires, and the employment of depressed arches and square-headed windows. I may first of all mention that most of these are really objections to the Continuous style in my definition of it, and not, as generally stated, merely to its Perpendicular variety. Almost all the points objected to the last are to be found individually and accidentally in the Early style; thus Stanwick church has four-centred pier-arches of the thirteenth century, Oxford Chapter-house the same form under transoms in lancet windows; the Perpendicular line running straight up into the arch is not uncommon in Geometrical windows. But all these are merely incidental, and as they do not affect the principles of the style, no induction can be made from them. But in the

later "Decorated" we find not only in detached examples, but in common use, and evidently as real parts of the style, most of the points objected to in Perpendicular. Square-headed windows are common, as well as continuous mouldings, and the gradually prevailing omission of the shaft. An examination of the churches of Northamptonshire will show that roofs were lowered and clerestories added, and churches originally built in that manner, in the reign of Edward III. as well as of Henry VII.; and the exquisite Decorated church of Wymington in Bedfordshire, exhibits, with hardly any mixture of Perpendicular details, all the great characteristics of that style. We may now see how far some of these points do admit of being shown to be really consistent with verticality. The first point would seem to be the lower pitch of many, though by no means all, of the roofs of this style. A wooden roof of any kind is at least but an inferior covering, an apology¹ or a substitute for vaulting; and the prevalent use of such roofs at all dates, and in churches whose size and sumptuousness would naturally lead us to expect a stone vault, can only be considered as a blot upon our national architecture. No Gothic church, certainly no Early Gothic church, can ever be considered as really complete in all its parts without vaulting. But granting that the vault is not to be had, the question remains, what is the best substitute. And here I imagine the testimony of antiquity will be in favour of the low roof. There is not a high-pitched wooden roof of ornamental character remaining in any Early Gothic church whatsoever. Whenever an ornamental timber roof was used, we have reason to believe it was perfectly flat, or at most canted. And so in after times, when rich timber roofs became general, they are generally low-pitched,² both in the ruder attempts in late Decorated work, and the more elaborate productions of the fully developed Perpendicular. And in both these cases I believe that the architect judged rightly in making his roof low, even when he was not actually compelled to do so in the addition of

¹ "The early roofs seem to have been regarded merely as an apology for stone-vaulting, while those of later date are made substitutes for it by their rich effect and or-

namental character."—Paley, page 123.

² The splendid wooden roofs in the Diocese of Norwich are the principal exceptions, and these are local.

that noble and most necessary feature, the clerestory. The low-pitched roof, I fully believe, is the better substitute of the two; I have never missed vaulting so little as in some noble Perpendicular church, like Newark or Fotheringhay. The reason would seem to be that as vaulting, the full development of the Gothic principle, is absent, and consequently that principle cannot be carried out in perfection, the later form of roof brings it out by the force of contrast, boldly adding a horizontal covering to the vertical walls. Mr. Petit¹ has remarked that the absence of vaulting at Peterborough adds greater height to the tall, narrow, divisions of the nave; without altogether asserting this, I cannot say with Mr. Neale after contemplating that gorgeous ceiling, "Give me a barn-roof rather, so it had a good pitch."² But the fair comparison is not between a low and a high pitch of roof springing from walls of the same height—in which case the greater positive height would be so much in favour of the high-roofed building—but between a high and a low pitch where the apices of the two pretty nearly agree, as in many of our churches where clerestories have been added. And in these instances, even setting aside the superior magnificence of the clerestory, I cannot think that any one could seriously wish to restore the old pitch to the nave of St. Cuthbert's at Wells, or St. Mary's at Stafford, or what would be essentially the same process, to substitute a high roof springing immediately from above the pillars for the present covering of St. Mary's Oxford, of Wrington, or of St. John's at Glastonbury, or could desire that other proportions of wall and roof had been given to the noble chancel at Adderbury.

The low gable, where the roof is of timber, arises from the lowness of the latter; over a vault it may have partly arisen from a wish to avoid the immense waste of material involved by the high roof. But the high gable is not excluded in this style, witness Canterbury and Winchester cathedrals; and its external effect is on the whole preferable. The high gable is the wall itself carried up to a point, and consequently preferable to the low gable, which only carries out the vertical principle by contrast. That the high roof viewed laterally at all carries out the

¹ I. 95. See above, p. 245.

² Hierologus, p. 38.

vertical principle, I cannot believe ; nothing surely is less vertical than the long, unbroken, horizontal line of roof at Ely or Winchester viewed at a little distance. And yet it is felt to be a beauty ; but a beauty I think arising from a source quite independent of the vertical principle, and not, like that, a peculiarity of Gothic architecture, but common to it with all good architecture of every style, I mean reality. We feel that a roof standing boldly out has more truth in it than one hidden behind a parapet. But as for mere vertical effect, which is of course imperfect where there must be a horizontal line somewhere, surely it is better consulted by an outline broken up with battlements, and fringed with soaring pinnacles, as at King's College Chapel, or Penkridge church, than by the unbroken roof line before alluded to.

Now may we not consider the magnificent towers of the Perpendicular style as a similar development ? In the Early style we shall see that the spire is necessary to any approach to ideal perfection ; the tower is not a whole and perfect design in itself, but requires a covering of some sort. Later examples, such as the Decorated of our village churches often affords, began to finish the tower with battlements and pinnacles, so as to make it a whole, while the spire rose unconnectedly from the middle of the tower. To connect the tower and spire is the great difficulty ; the broach is a mere roof, and always retains a degree of severity ; the other form requires great and elaborate grouping of pinnacles and flying buttresses to fuse the two together. The spire itself is undoubtedly the very finest external development of the vertical principle ; but there is always danger lest the whole composition should fail to be so, lest the vertical line be broken up, and have to commence again in the spire. Surely then it was a grand idea to develop the tower itself into a prominent feature, and thus, to say the least, to provide two forms of beauty instead of one. And I can never believe that the genuine Perpendicular tower is other than a most beautiful and an essentially vertical feature. There is a commanding majesty about such steeples as Canterbury, and Gloucester, and Wolverhampton, soaring royally over the surrounding city, which no other composition can equal. A spire is the more graceful, a tower the more dignified feature. And as to verticality, of course

a mere horizontal finish is bad, but in what good Perpendicular tower do we find it? The horizontal line is brought out just strongly enough to mark the triumph of the vertical. This last is equally predominant, the only difference being, that instead of concentrating its whole verticality in one point, it sends up four, eight, twelve, or sixteen vertical points, in its pinnacles, each of these being in the best examples the crowning point of long unbroken vertical lines of turret, or buttress, or panelling. Mr. Pugin's objection¹ that the tower does not afford room for a predominant cross may perhaps be worth taking into consideration on ecclesiastical grounds, but cannot have any possible weight in determining the merit of a structure considered as an architectural composition.

And as to the four-centred arch; it must be remembered that it was not a Perpendicular invention, and that though this particular form was rare before that style, others as depressed were commonly used. Mr. Paley² has well shown the intimate connection between this and the pointed segmental, which, as well as the round segmental,³ was abundantly used even during the Early style. The state of the case is simply this, that in many positions, such as windows placed in low walls, it is desirable to increase the width without increasing the height; the result is a depressed head. Surely then the segmental arch, which springs from the jamb at a sharp angle, is both more horizontal and less elegant than the four-centred, in which the angle is rounded off, and the arch in the best specimens rises as gracefully and gradually as the simple pointed. Above all things it cannot be consistent in Mr. Pugin,⁴ who in his own buildings employs the seg-

¹ In a letter to the President of Trinity College, published in the Oxford Society's Proceedings for Easter and Act Term, 1843, p. 20.

² Gothic Architecture, 128.

³ As in the rear-arches of doors, to allow of the door opening, and of windows to obtain more effect of shadow in the heads. But these are by no means the only applications; without searching for examples, the churches of Barnack

and Byfield occur to me as exhibiting long series of Geometrical windows with flat heads, and in Oxford Cathedral the four-centred arch itself occurs as the containing arch of a triplet.

⁴ Mr. Pugin says somewhere that even the semicircular arch is better than the four-centred, as the latter does not rise so much above the impost. Does he consider the dome of St. Paul's more vertical than

mental arch *usque ad nauseam*, to speak of the four-centred as a sign of debasement. At the same time it is undeniable that the four-centred arch was in the last days of Perpendicular applied where it should not have been, just as the segmental was sometimes, though less frequently, at an earlier time. The four-centred pier-arches of Bath Cathedral and St. Michael's, Coventry, are æsthetical¹ errors just as great, and no greater, than similar uses of the segmental arch at Romsey and Salisbury. Mr. Petit mentions a constructive objection to both forms, namely that they throw a lateral instead of a vertical thrust on the piers; hence as pier-arches they should be avoided; but in apertures in walls, such as doors and windows, it is simply a question of composition. It is only when a low broad space, such as frequently occurs in aisles and clerestories, has to be filled, that they are advisable, or when they have to fit into a roof of the same form, as at King's College Chapel. One cannot defend tall narrow windows with depressed arches of either form, as in the chancels of Byfield and Adderbury.

I have now only to make two observations on these points which are objected to the Perpendicular style. I would remark, First, that, though it admits, it does not require any of the

the spire of Sarum, because it is higher from the ground?

¹ I say æsthetical, because, not being versed in mechanics, I am always apprehensive that there may be some constructive reason for much that is contrary to theories made merely by the eye. I have no means of ascertaining, but it always strikes me that there must be some such reason for the almost universal occurrence of the four-centred arch in fan-tracery vaulting. As to the examples just quoted, one can see in two of the instances how the arches came to be of their respective forms. At Bath, it is clear that the great aim of the architect, right or wrong, was to dazzle by a clerestory of enormous

height, which trenched upon the due proportions of the pier-range; the four-centred arch then was a less evil than such stunted pillars as a taller arch with the same general height would have produced; that it was no abstract love of four-centred arches is shown by the west window. The segmental arches at Romsey arise, as Mr. Petit has shown in his account of that Abbey, from the wish of the designer to adapt their proportions to those of the adjoining Romanesque bays. Perhaps something may be said for four-centred pier-arches when the arcades are rendered of little importance by stalls, as in Henry VII's Chapel.

points objected to. It simply, as Mr. Petit says, gives a greater licence to the architect, which was in some cases undoubtedly abused. Arches may be, and as often are, simple as four-centred, the most splendid open as well as low roofs are of this date, the gable may be as high as any at Ely or Lincoln, the parapet need not be embattled, and though the spire is less common, yet some of the most magnificent spires are examples of this decried style.

Secondly, objections against a style resting on points not arising from its principles, are of no weight ; they are not against the style, but against the architect. It is very possible that corruptions may have been brought into the style : it is even possible that the principle of the style may have been never fully worked out—though I am far from allowing that such was the fact—so that the Continuous may be a less perfect development of its own idea than the Early style ; and yet that idea have been one containing greater capabilities of perfection than the other.

Having thus marked out the chief points of distinction between the two great forms of Gothic architecture, we will endeavour to trace the subordinate shapes which they assumed, which may be best named from the windows, as the feature in which the principles appear earliest, and are most clearly developed.

The first form of the Early Gothic then is the Early English or First-Pointed, which I would, by the revival of an old name, designate as the LANCET style. In this the window is single, often grouped into combinations, but not divided by mullions and tracery. This style in all its details exhibits the fullest development of distinctness of parts : Salisbury Cathedral and the Presbytery of Ely may be considered as its most perfect types.

The second variety of Early Gothic has tracery in its windows, consisting of Geometrical figures filling up the head, but not springing from the mullions, or fused into each other. This may be called GEOMETRICAL. In its earliest examples, some of which are contemporary with the prevalence of the Lancet style, its minor details hardly differ from it, as in Westminster Abbey, and the Presbytery of Lincoln. The nave of Lichfield is very little, if any, advanced beyond these. Gradually the tracery, though still Geometrical, becomes more complicated, and the details lose the great distinctness of the Lancet style, being in some sort a tran-

ation to the next style. Of this period Exeter Cathedral is the great example, exhibiting, in the successive additions which it has received from east to west, every stage of Geometrical tracery and other detail, from the earliest to the latest which deserve the name.

The Continuous style appeared first in a form which, from the lines of its window tracery, I denominate *Flowing*. The mullions are continued in the tracery, which may be said to consist of figures melted together and completely foliated.¹ The other details gradually approximate to the next style, but no hard line can be drawn between them and those of the last. The octagon, choir, and Lady chapel of Ely are among our best specimens.

The fully developed Continuous styles of England and France are respectively known by the familiar and appropriate names of *Perpendicular* and *Flamboyant*. Among many points of diversity, the best specimens of both present the same great features of continuity. The tracery no longer consists of *figures*, but is merely a prolongation of the mullions, in the one case in straight, in the other in curved lines, the *spaces* between being foliated at one or both ends. But both in tracery and in other respects Flamboyant often ran wild, and sometimes quite forsook its own principles. St. Maclou and the nave of St. Ouen's, at Rouen, are among its best specimens. Of our numberless Perpendicular buildings we may select Winchester Cathedral and King's College Chapel, as respectively exhibiting the earliest and latest forms of the style in their fullest perfection.

It will be thus seen that I completely ignore the existence of a Decorated or Middle-Pointed style as a philosophical division. At the same time, in describing churches, it is almost necessary to retain some such name; for distinct as are the fully developed Flowing and the pure Geometrical, Ely choir and Lichfield nave, totally opposite as are their principles, it is utterly impossible to draw a hard line of demarcation between one and the other. Even the two forms of windows are much confused, and much more the other details. One sees that the earliest Deco-

¹ That is, the whole figure is affected by the foliations. This is only ideally true; in practice the Flamboyant foliation obtruded itself during the whole Flowing period, perhaps earlier.

rated churches are essentially Early, the latest essentially Continuous; where one style overcomes the other, it is impossible to say. In fact, if we retain a Decorated style, it can only be as one of transition, but of course not a transition of the same kind as that from Grecian to Roman, or Roman to Gothic. Those were attempts to combine a new principle of construction with an old principle of decoration; the present transition is not between two principles, but between two applications of the same principle. And it is to the constant commingling of the two applications, both being for a time in simultaneous use, and indeed often employed in the same structure, that I attribute the notion of the Decorated as a definite style: a class of buildings is marked negatively, as being neither Lancet nor Perpendicular, and which agree pretty much in some points of detail. But if we are to divide, not merely by date and detail, but by some pervading principle or application of a principle, we shall surely see that two very different ones are at work in buildings of this class. It is very difficult in individual instances to separate Geometrical from Flowing tracery: they are sometimes palpably of the same date, sometimes part of a window is Geometrical, part Flowing; yet this commingling in fact does not prevent an entire diversity in principle. And surely a pure Flowing window is as simply Continuous as though its mullions were continued in straight instead of curved lines. So too in other parts of the building; the details are mingled up in the individual instances, yet we can trace out two types; the one with Geometrical windows, deeply hollowed mouldings, jamb-shafts, clustered columns, arcades, parts retaining a strongly marked individuality; the other with Flowing tracery, channelled piers, panelling, parts subordinate to the whole. It may be that no perfectly pure example can be found of either, yet even this would not hinder the existence of the two models in idea; and clearly one must rank with Lancet, the other with Perpendicular. Their union in one style is most convenient in practice, as avoiding the necessity of attempting a most painful and often fruitless discrimination of detail; but investigated on philosophical principles, the unity of the Decorated style falls to the ground. It has been objected, that "the principle of Continuity, which, for a while one of development, changed into a corruption, was ever at work from the

first; and consequently its greater or less prevalence can be no test in fixing the number of styles."¹ With this reasoning I cannot agree; its greater or less prevalence, if marked only, as it were, by convenient stages, can of course be no test; but if there was a moment when it became not only more fully carried out in the particulars to which it had been previously applied, but began to be applied to a new class of particulars; if, as was above stated,² architecture before a certain time applies the principle of destroying the separate existence of the parts, only to the construction of the primary parts, while after that period it extends its application to the further subordination of the primary parts to the whole; the moment, I presume, when the "development" became a "corruption;" I cannot but think the change is one calculated to be "a test in fixing the number of styles." Continuity does not merely become more prevalent in degree, but has a new kind of application brought within its reach; the principle on which hitherto parts only were constructed, is now extended to the whole; and detail is modified accordingly. The existence of the change is a fact; whether it were a change for good or for evil, a development or a corruption, is an entirely distinct question. No such broad change in principle separates the Lancet from the Geometrical, or the Flowing from the Perpendicular, as divides pure Geometrical from pure Flowing. These two last cannot be called in any sense one style with definite marks; the mere induction of instances, without reference to principles, could only bring them together negatively as a transition style.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE EARLY GOTHIC.

THE grand definition of this style having been already given, we have now to consider it in its varieties and in its minuter details. Of its two great divisions, the Lancet or Early English will demand our first consideration, as being at once the earliest both

¹ Ecclesiologist, V. 54.

² See above, page 341.

in idea and in chronological order, and moreover all but exclusively confined to our own country.

Two of its forms may be first mentioned, as being, so to speak, its boundaries on either side; namely the round abacus, which distinguishes it from the antecedent Romanesque; the Lancet window, which forms its chief difference from the succeeding Geometrical. These at once define and mark off the style from all others; as far as details can define a style, this is marked by the simultaneous use of the round abacus and the lancet window. It is thus distinguished from the otherwise very similar French buildings, which have the lancet window in combination with the square abacus, and from the Geometrical, which has the round abacus in combination with the traceried window.

The lancet windows, the chief distinction of the style, are certainly a feature of the greatest elegance. Even the plainest example is always pleasing, and in large and rich churches they are adorned with the utmost sumptuousness of detail. But as long as the lancet window remained a single and detached feature, the style, as Mr. Petit says, cannot be considered as having arrived at perfection. Yet it is perhaps going too far to say that such instances cannot be considered as "aspiring to a higher rank than that of Transition."¹ They are still Gothic, though Gothic with its capabilities not yet fully developed. However, no one can doubt that the perfection of the style is to be looked for in those examples where the lancet window "forms part of a composition, and can no more be considered without reference to others in the same front or compartment than if it were one of the lights of a large mullioned window."²

Hence, in all the best examples of Lancet Gothic, the windows are brought near together, and become members of one composition; we have couplets, triplets, quintuplets, gradually coming into closer proximity to one another. But as long as they are, however close, of equal height, the Gothic principle may be developed in each severally, but does not influence the whole composition. The parts are vertical, but the whole is horizontal: some member must therefore soar above the rest, to give the required pyramidal outline. In a couplet this is impossible, and hence we find its place supplied by the expedients which will be

¹ I. 152.

² Ibid. p. 153.

hereafter described as forming the germs of tracery. In the triplet this is provided by raising the central light above the rest, as in most of the best examples. Similarly in a series of five or seven lights, there may be a progressive rise ; a composition of four is necessarily imperfect in this respect, as the two central ones, though raised above the rest, still remain of the same height as each other, so that the complete pyramidal effect cannot be obtained.

The compound lancet windows which are earliest in idea, and probably in date also, have their lights externally distinct, though set near to one another ; so that there is a real, though very small, portion of wall between them. Within, however, the splay makes them essentially one window. Later, the three lights become more closely connected, so that, even externally, the space between the wall sinks into a mere mullion ; a further step groups them under a single label. Triplets in a lateral elevation, which are seldom found but in large churches,¹ become even more completely single windows than when they are placed in a front.

As an example of the grouping of lancet windows in a large front, the east end of Ely Cathedral is doubtless the most magnificent composition in the world. The gradual diminution of its stages produces a wonderfully aspiring effect, and the details are among the most exquisite in England. The east end of Southwell Minster is in detail fully equal to that of Ely, though greatly inferior in composition, as both stages consist of four lancets, and the interior especially shows how impossible it is to produce a pyramidal effect with that number.

In smaller churches triplets are generally found at the east end, but occasionally in transept fronts and elsewhere. They are not common at the west end, even in the comparatively few churches which afford an opportunity. The real reason for their infrequency in that position is that the triplet, as the finest development of the style, was set apart for the east end, and, as Mr. Paley observes, "evident reasons both of construction and propriety, will account for the eastern window being generally superior to the western."² In many cases, especially when there

¹ The well-known examples at Warmington are a splendid exception.

² Gothic Architecture, p. 168.

is a western tower, the west window is a single lancet. But the most appropriate composition for a small west front without a tower is certainly two distinct and tall lancets, with a buttress between, which, if necessary, may run up and support a bell gable. Such fronts are found in several churches near Oxford, and the same composition is continued even when the windows on each side contain tracery. In some examples in other neighbourhoods, the arrangement is with much less propriety transferred to the east end: perhaps even the wonderful east end of Dorchester may be considered as a carrying out of the same notion.

The square-headed window was not altogether unknown at this period, and circular windows of large size, and filled with wheel-tracery, occur in great churches; in smaller churches a circle, sometimes plain, but more usually foliated, is often found, but seldom in any very prominent position.

The mere detail of the Lancet style possesses the most exquisite loveliness of any style of architecture whatever. We might ransack all the edifices in the world, from the Treasury of Atræus to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and find nothing which can be for a moment compared to the perfect beauty of its detached marble shafts, with their deep cut bases, their bands, their capitals of the richest and most graceful foliage; of the wonderfully deep mouldings, forming the finest contrasts of light and shade; of the long rows of the most elegant and always satisfactory tooth-ornament; of the corbels, and bosses, and knots of foliage, the profusion of arcades, on which all this beauty is lavished. Succeeding styles carried out the Gothic principle more effectually, and formed a more perfect whole; but the Lancet style, as exemplified in its noblest production, the divine presbytery of Ely, must stand unrivalled for the grace and purity bestowed upon the minutest fragments of detail.

The use of detached shafts is peculiar to this style, and certainly one of the most graceful of its graceful features. It is the extreme development of the principle of distinctness of parts, which in this respect is carried beyond anything which we have seen in Romanesque; it is a result of that principle combined with the extreme lightness and delicacy which pervades the Lancet style. The shaft has not only an ideal separate existence, but becomes physically distinct, it is a separate piece of stone

standing free, and only united by the bonds of capital, base, and band. And the beautiful, though unfortunately perishable, material of which they are so often wrought, the Purbeck marble, adds fresh richness to the grace of form. In the formation of piers this feature shows itself in its full perfection, the jambs of doors and windows not giving the same opportunity for its display. Nothing can be more lovely than the pillars at Salisbury and Ely, in which the small detached shafts cluster round a large central column, distinct yet united, springing from one root and returning to one head, and bound together even in the centre of their course. One might almost compare it to the Church surrounded by her sons, sent forth from her one bosom to their several posts, again to return and claim the one reward of the one body; each distinct and free, waging his own conflict with his own foes, yet all one, bound fast together in one inseparable company, losing all strength and life if separated from the single centre of animation and of unity.

Shafts in other positions have very great beauty, from their own elegant form, and their exquisite bases and capitals. The undercut bell of the capital is itself a graceful form, but it requires the beautiful foliage of which this style is so lavish to bring it to the highest excellence. And this we constantly find in doorway, and pier-arch, and niche, alike in the most costly Minster and the humblest chapel. The undercut and overhanging abacus, the deep hollow of the base, are among the best of the wonderful mouldings of this style.

Every one must have admired the sweep of the elaborate architraves in which those mouldings are best displayed, with rounds and hollows succeeding in an almost endless series, wave over wave; hollows cut with such careful and laborious workmanship, that the round is attached only by a narrow isthmus. When we come to two or three such hollows filled with the bold projecting tooth-ornament, and the same exquisite decoration filling up the space between the marble shafts below, standing forth in the perfect beauty of band, and base, and floriated capital, all distinct and yet combining together: we may safely say that we have found the perfection of mere workmanship and detail, among the countless forms of grace which art has supplied for the admirer of pure loveliness to revel in. The distinction of orders is quite lost in

the general effect of these enriched architraves ; but the mouldings "are very commonly so arranged that if they are circumscribed by a line drawn to touch the most prominent points of their contour, it will be found to form a succession of rectangular recesses :"¹ an arrangement which is manifestly a vestige of the recessed arch. Of course where mere chamfers without further mouldings are employed, the orders of the arch are much more strongly marked.

The second or Geometrical variety of the Early Gothic can hardly be distinguished from the Lancet by any one marked feature except the introduction of tracery. And this can scarcely be called a chronological distinction. Tracery was in other countries used from the first in all buildings deserving the name of pure Gothic, and the like was the case, though less universally, even in England. The lancet light was more in use ; but the traceried window kept up an existence² by the side of the other. Thus at Netley Abbey all the smaller lights are lancets, while the famous east window exhibits fully developed though very early tracery.

The necessity for tracery appears to have been first and most strongly felt in couplets. When two lancets are joined together under one label, or when they fill up the space under a pointed vaulting arch, a blank space is left in the head which is by no means pleasing. This want had been felt even in Romanesque times, as the head of a triforium has occasionally a circle or such like ornament pierced in it : the Transitional windows at St. Giles's, Oxford, have in like manner a pointed light above the two larger ones. We therefore find in Early Gothic the head of a couplet filled with a circle, a quatrefoil, or other figure. As these gradually approach the lights below, and cease to be distinct figures pierced in the wall, but allow their mouldings to flow into those of the lights, the simplest form of tracery is produced.

On the other hand, the triplet would naturally be one of the last features retained by the style, both on account of its intrinsic beauty, and because it is so far from affording any such void space, that it is rather one of the most beautiful developments of the pyramidal form. Still the triplet, from the very fact of its

¹ Glossary of Architecture, Art. Moulding.

² See Petit, i. 134.

being a more complete whole than any other combination of lancets, held out an additional temptation to unite its parts still more closely into one window. This was done by opening the span-drills under the label, which at once produces a form of window by no means uncommon, and a similar process applied to a quintuplet produces an analogous form with five lights. Though these belong to quite the later days of Early Gothic, they are continually found without foliations, a fact which clearly marks their origin.

The other details were very little altered by the first introduction of tracery: but rather later in the style, nearly simultaneously with the introduction of more elaborate forms in windows, we find the details wavering, and though they manifest no signs of approximation to the principles of the Continuous style, there is a falling off from the purity of Early Gothic detail, and an approach to many of the forms of the Flowing style. This is what is known as Early or Geometrical Decorated. We begin to lose the detached and banded shafts; the tooth-ornament gradually loses its boldness and projection, and sinks into the four-leaved flower; the ball-flower appears; the mouldings begin to lose their peculiar character; though rounds and hollows still prevail, they are not always so deep, and are not so regularly arranged in groups, nor so strict in answering to each other, and they are more frequently channelled with the fillet; the foliage loses its stalks and trefoils, and assumes a freer and yet less bold character, with more imitation of individual plants. But the main principles still remain unaltered; we have the same distinctness of parts, the shafts, the capitals, the piers still partaking of a columnar character. So small is the change that one description of the main features of a church will serve for both forms of Early Gothic, while the most certain distinctions are to be found in the smallest minutiae.

We will now endeavour briefly to trace out the chief characteristics of the Early Gothic style as a whole, as affecting the several parts of churches.

The towers are mostly very noble features, but are rather to be studied in the parish church than in the minster. The form is of course usually square, but octagonal examples are occasionally found, as at Stanwick, Northamptonshire, and sometimes an octagon crowns a square tower, as the Lancet addition to the

Saxon tower at Barnack. The arcade is, as was to be expected, the main source of decoration. Some are surrounded by many stages of this ornament, such as St. Mary's, Stamford, the whole surface of which is covered by arcades, quite down to the bottom. This I can hardly think a beauty, as it is always desirable for a tower to increase perceptibly in lightness and decoration towards the top. In towers not arcaded, we sometimes find three detached lancets, but more frequently couplets, and, as the style advances, two-light windows.

Towers were seldom or never left flat with parapets, but to say that all Early Gothic towers had spires is an unnecessary confusion of terms. The spire grew out of the pyramidal capping, but is no more the same thing, than a Gothic cathedral is the same as a Basilica. Many churches doubtless had originally wooden roofs or wooden spires, which were destroyed at a later period; nothing is more common than to find an Early tower with a later battlement, or less commonly a later story, added. The battlement seems never to have been used, and the pierced parapet scarcely ever, during the Early Gothic period. We know that many large churches, as Ripon and Lincoln, had formerly wooden spires covered with lead. Those of the latter were however not essential features, being very small and rising within the parapet.

Very different is the genuine spire of this period, whether of wood or of stone. It overhangs the tower with eaves like a dripping roof, and commonly rests upon a corbel table. A few however, as at Brading, rise within the parapet. There are two chief forms, the one square at the base, and connected by a slope with the octagonal part; this is most appropriate for a timber spire, but sometimes occurs in masonry. In the other, called most frequently the broach-spire, the square tower is united to the octagonal spire by half-pyramids inclining from the angles. The proportions of these greatly affect the character of the spire; when very lofty, they tend best to connect the tower and spire together, but make the whole composition heavy. At the same time, as the broach spire is necessarily a somewhat massive erection, it is by no means out of character. When they are small, the spire may be more taper, but it loses its close connection with the tower, which may however be obviated by the addition of pinnacles at the angles. This beautiful addition

soon developed into that most noble method of connecting the tower and spire familiar to all at St. Mary's in Oxford. The spire-lights are set in projections, often of great boldness, with gabled heads; which when jutting forth from a low broach have a very singular effect. There are one, two, or three ranges of these lights, diminishing in size, according to the height of the tower.

In small churches a high roof and a clerestory are not often found together at any date; and at this period the high roof is an almost invariable feature. Every one knows the steep pitch of Lincoln and Ely, and one of considerable elevation was in general use, though the equilateral rule will not hold. Shiffnal church has a high roof and a low clerestory not pierced; in such cases we sometimes find small foliated circles, but a clerestory of lancets, as at Chelveston, near Higham Ferrers, is of very rare occurrence. Even large churches of Conventual or Collegiate rank were sometimes without a clerestory; Stafford church had originally none; and Dorchester is to this day without a clerestory in any part of its enormous length. The finish of the aisles, whether with distinct or lean-to roofs, appears to have been to a great extent a matter of local custom.

Many forms of doorways appear, but the use of the shaft may be observed in almost all the rich examples. Some doorways have trefoiled heads, a form not uncommonly assumed by the inner order, and the form known as the square-headed trefoil is very common for small openings. Those with round arches, but otherwise belonging to this style, have been mentioned in a former chapter. Double doorways, that is, divided by a shaft, just like a two-light window, have usually foliated heads to the small arches, with tracery or sculpture in the tympanum. These are generally confined to minsters; Lincoln Cathedral has one in the presbytery of overwhelming gorgeousness of detail. The western doorway of Higham Ferrers is a rare example in a parish church—for it dates much earlier than the foundation of the Collegiate body—and has a very foreign air.

Turning our attention to the interior, the first point demanding our notice is of course the lateral elevations of the nave and choir, and we shall here find how little, amid all its beauty of detail, the Early Gothic effected in subordinating parts to the whole. The vertical principle is seldom very strongly brought

forward, and in some instances the horizontal line prevails over it. Thus the Early Gothic part of the nave of St. Alban's presents only three continuous horizontal ranges, with no more vertical division into bays than in a Basilica. And here it is more striking, as in the Romanesque portion the divisions of the compartments are strongly marked by pilasters. The reason for this is to be found in the decided separate existence of the pillars, which requires all their members to be united under one abacus, and consequently cannot allow one of them to run up to support the vaulting. In the nave of Lichfield this is done, and of course the general appearance infinitely improved, but with regard to the pillars themselves it has the effect of cutting each into two responds, a process not in harmony with the style. In the later architecture, where the pier is not a column or cluster of columns, but a shafted and channelled piece of wall, there is no such bar to its shafts rising to the roof; but in the Early style the character of the pillars precludes this necessary feature¹ of a thoroughly vertical design. Hence in this style the vaulting-shaft is generally corbelled off a little above the pillar.

The pillar is always more or less an assemblage of columns. As the peculiar details of the Lancet style went out of use, the shafts cease to be detached, but they still remain clustering together, united by their abaci and bases. The variety of their section is very great; the idea of a large central pillar round which the rest cluster long remains predominant, but gradually loses its hold.

The proportions of the pillars and arch, and indeed of the whole compartment, are mainly regulated by the size of the triforium. In some churches we still find a single arch the full width of the bay, as at Romsey and Ely, where the piers are little less massive, and the arches but little higher, than in Romanesque, though of course far lighter in effect. But two arches in the triforium more commonly answer to each one in the lower range, and as the height which the triforium thus loses is taken into the arcade, the pillars become more lofty; hence the greater lightness of the nave of Lincoln as compared with the presbytery of Ely.

¹ Of course I do not mean to include choirs, where stall-work often requires the corbelling off of vaulting-shafts.

At Exeter, the diminished size of the triforium is a mark of the approach of the next style. Occasionally the triforium is omitted, in which case the clerestory usually comes down immediately upon the arcade, but Tintern has the capital fault of a triforium-space left totally blank. St. Cross has only an occasional arch pierced in the wall. At Southwell the choir has no triforium as a distinct architectural member, the openings of the clerestory windows being brought down much below the part actually glazed, and a passage formed in them.

There is, among considerable variety of detail, a great general similarity in the treatment of Early Gothic triforia, and a great analogy with that of windows. They almost always resemble a window of two, three, or four lights, and exhibit both the complete Geometrical tracery, and the same imperfect and transitional forms as the windows. Indeed it would appear that the development of tracery was more speedy in the triforium than in the windows, because arches were here of necessity brought into the closest juxtaposition, whereas in windows more liberty of distinction and combination is allowed.

The clerestory during the Lancet period often has a triplet in each bay, as at Ely and Salisbury, or a single lancet forming the central member of an arcade of three, as at Romsey. Southwell has a couplet in each bay; St. Alban's has two lancets over each arch, but they are not to be called couplets; they are members of a range, of which each window is distinct, and of which all that can be said is that two happen to coincide with each pier-arch. When tracery was introduced, one window of course is to be found in each bay, gradually increasing in size, from the two-light openings at Westminster to the large and elaborate Geometrical windows at Exeter.

In these noble churches a great diversity of detail and of merit may be observed. For general majesty of internal effect there can be no doubt that the royal Abbey of Westminster is beyond comparison the first of English churches of this or of any other style. Its immense height, unparalleled among us islanders, and the surpassing glory of the apsidal termination, alone suffice to place it above all our other churches. Yet if one were inclined to enter on so ungracious a task, it would be easier to find defects in this unrivalled building than in the low-

lier beauties of Ely, Lichfield, and Lincoln Presbytery. The pillars might be said to be less gracefully clustered, the arches painfully acute, the triforium not sufficiently prominent, the windows too large for their simple form, the attempt at combining clusters of columns and continuous vaulting-shafts far from successful. Yet several of these faults, if such they be, are the necessary consequences of its glorious height; and they afford another proof that the beauty of parts may frequently interfere with the general splendour of a design. A compartment of Ely is far more beautiful than a compartment of Westminster; the proportions of arcade, triforium, and clerestory are infinitely more satisfactory, and for beauty and richness of detail, for foliage and mouldings, Westminster cannot be put in competition for a moment. But to have given Westminster the proportion of Ely must have involved an unsightly width of arch which would at once have ruined the whole. The question lies between the utmost purity and beauty of proportion and detail, and the sublimity of effect given by an increase of thirty feet in elevation. Ely is the more perfect model of a style, the more valuable study for an architect; Westminster is the grander whole, the sublimer temple of our faith.

I have taken for granted that the great size of the triforium at Ely is to be reckoned among the beauties of that noble presbytery. Of course I hold that the later architects judged rightly in completely abolishing the triforium; but the principles of the Early Gothic require its presence, and if it is present, it surely should be a grand feature in the elevation, one of equal importance with the pier-arch and clerestory. Hence the single arch of Ely and Romsey is superior to the double one of Lincoln and Lichfield, as strongly bringing out each bay of the triforium as a whole distinct in itself, and not merely one or two members of a continuous arcade. Of course height is lost in the pillar, but this loss in the present style is rather a gain; I cannot but prefer the arcades of Ely and Southwell to those in the nave of Lincoln.

The presbyteries of Ely and Lincoln respectively exhibit the two forms of the Early Gothic in their utmost perfection. The details in both are beyond all praise, and the proportions are equally faultless; as perhaps the vast triforium of Ely, which

we certainly desiderate in the nave and choir of Lincoln, might not have agreed with the more advanced style of the presbytery, where it must have been a mere double of the clerestory above. Lincoln presbytery exhibits the Geometrical window in its highest perfection, with the system of tracery fully developed, and still preserving the beautiful simplicity which is lost in the later forms at Exeter or Merton College. And the details differ but little from the pure Lancet, the most graceful of any. But we must not omit to do homage to the exquisite beauty of the smaller nave of Lichfield. Its scale hardly admits of majesty, but for loveliness nothing can surpass it. We cannot but admire the extreme skill and delicacy of feeling with which every feature of the largest cathedral has room found for its most exquisite proportion in a comparatively small height. Yet it is not fair to call Lichfield low; its compartments are comparatively lofty. The triforium resembles that of Lincoln, and it may be made a question whether its toothing is not a more graceful decoration than the foliage of the latter. The spherical triangle in the clerestory admirably suits its proportions, filling up the whole space allowed, and fitting completely into the vaulting.

The nave of York Minster may be cited as a superb example of the transition between this style and the Continuous. The windows are decidedly Geometrical, and the piers are clusters of columns, though their separate existence is much broken in upon by the Continuous vaulting-shafts, which are far more prominent than at Lichfield. The piers however retain their old proportions, and have not assumed the lightness of the later style. The triforium has vanished, the arrangement of Southwell being employed; a row of panels within the window-jamb is all that remains. This I cannot but look upon as an important fact; at Southwell the elevation may not have been deemed sufficient to admit of the triple division of height; in the immense pile of the Metropolitan church the omission can only show the approach of a style whose principles rejected the triforium. Hence what at Southwell is a decided fault, is at York a manifest beauty; it is in short a Continuous arrangement with Early details.

It is needless to state, that the great majority of Early Gothic minsters had stone vaulted roofs. The vaulting is usually quadripartite, but sometimes sexpartite; ridge-bands and merely

decorative ribs are gradually introduced. Salisbury exhibits a vault of the simplest kind, without any of these features; those at Ely and Westminster are more complicated, but very different from those of the succeeding style. The transepts of York Cathedral exhibit an imperfect attempt to gain greater internal height by taking in the gable stage; but the effect is only that of a distorted barrel-vault. Romsey and St. Alban's are vaultless, on account of the Romanesque work adjoining; and it would seem that Whitby Abbey, without any such reason, was designed for a flat roof. In small churches the roof is generally the least satisfactory part; vaulting is exceedingly rare, and the ornamental open roof was not yet developed. Perhaps in this style also flat roofs were not unusually employed; ledges are often seen against towers and over chancel-arches, which would serve excellently for their support, and do not seem adapted to any other purpose.

Before quitting the subject of Early Gothic minsters, we may mention that the most perfect form of chapter-house is peculiar to this date. The Romanesque examples, as Durham and Bristol, were merely large oblong rooms; and the late ones at Canterbury and Exeter are of the same form. The like is the form of that most exquisite gem of Lancet architecture, the chapter-house of Oxford Cathedral. But the Geometrical age produced the admirable polygonal chapter-houses at Lincoln, Sarum, Wells, Lichfield, Southwell, and York. All are conceived on one type, but with striking differences in detail. With two exceptions, York and Southwell, all have that exquisite feature, the central pillar, from which the vaulting diverges. Its absence at York is sufficiently accounted for by its vaulting being of wood; at Southwell, partly from its small size, partly from the example of the Metropolitan church. The details of all these, their doorways, and the vestibules leading to them, are all of the most exquisite beauty. Lichfield is remarkable from being of two stories, a library being built over the actual chapter-house, and being in its architecture a plainer copy of the sumptuous structure below; the clustered pillar being replaced by a single column, and the other details receiving an analogous treatment. These beautiful edifices seem all to have been originally covered with high-pitched roofs almost like spires, which have generally been

removed, but remain at York and Lincoln, to the great improvement both of the chapter-houses and of the general effect of the cathedral buildings. Sarum and Lincoln too retain beautiful cloisters of this date, as also Canterbury, where however the original arcades are very much injured by the addition of Perpendicular vaulting. The simplest Geometrical tracery, as at Sarum, seems admirably suited for this latter kind of building.

To turn to smaller churches, we shall find pillars and arches of very different kinds, but as a general rule the pillars are low compared with what they were afterwards, and the arches at once tall and wide; sometimes indeed absolutely sprawling. The arches are most commonly of two chamfered orders, but are occasionally elaborately moulded. The pillars are of various forms, clustered, round, and octagonal. The capitals are sometimes plain, and sometimes adorned with foliage; but the extensive use of the floriated capital in small buildings hardly continued after the termination of the Lancet style. Occasionally however pillars assume a very great height, as the octagonal ones at Steeple Barton, Oxon, and the clusters in the magnificent nave of St. Cuthbert's at Wells. These, though hardly clear of the Transition, afford a perfect foreshadowing of the superb Perpendicular of the district, and harmonize admirably with the later additions in this very church.

For examples of the pier and arch of the Geometrical style worked with great delicacy, and which, as being on a large scale, and yet not supporting any great weight, possess a bold and soaring character, alike beyond the ordinary minster and the ordinary parish church, I would refer to the choirs of Stafford and Dorchester. The splendour of the three noble arches in the latter is wonderful, and derived solely from proportion, the richness of detail not being remarkable. Stafford has the advantage of a longer vista, and of that restored beauty, to which Dorchester is only progressing by slow, though we may hope sure, degrees. The churches of St. Martin and St. Margaret at Leicester have also Early Gothic naves but very little inferior in effect.

In turning to French churches it is exceedingly difficult to know what is to be called Transition and what Early Gothic; the Gothic principle became completely triumphant at so very early

a period, while lingering features of Romanesque survived so very late. Thus we find pillars hardly clear of Romanesque, and a systematic use of the square abacus, in connection with windows filled with complete Geometrical tracery, and even with features bordering on the Continuous style, as the unbroken vaulting shaft and the triforium banished or reduced to complete subordination. In their general effect Amiens, and Strasburg, and the Early part of St. Ouen's, have far more affinity with the nave of York than with Ely and Lincoln, while their details are hardly so advanced as those of Sarum. The chief feature in which this is shown is the very small prominence given to the triforium. This peculiarity is of course connected with the immense excess in the proportion of height conspicuous in the French churches. As was above observed of Westminster, very tall and narrow compartments are inconsistent with a prominent triforium; it must sink into comparative insignificance; and much more so in such a church as Amiens, whose height is to our tallest Minster as three to two. Hence we have two forms of triforium in the great French churches. In the earlier stages of the style, as at Rheims, Paris, and elsewhere, it is a not very prominent arcade, sometimes grouped under containing arches, but often without any attempt at tracery. In all these churches the Romanesque leaven is still very strong, and the Geometrical tracery is not yet quite fully developed in the windows, and, quite contrary to the progress of the style in our own country, it is still less so in the triforium. In the later developments at Amiens and Beauvais, the triforium is merged in the clerestory; the principal mullions of the latter being continued from it. As the style advances it gradually resigns all character as an arcade or a distinct member of the building, and openly confesses itself to be merely panelling underneath the windows of the clerestory. The lower range of the double triforium at Rouen seems to be the nearest approach to the English arrangement, but in Normandy, as we shall see presently, English ideas probably prevailed, as was but natural, to a considerable extent.

The piers of these grand churches are very various, but as a general rule, they are by no means so advanced in character as those of the contemporary erections in England. Churches which maintain but a dubious claim to the title of complete

Gothic, as Nôtre Dame de Paris and Dijon, retain columnar piers of considerable elegance, and from which classical character has by no means entirely departed ; in the apse especially this feature is retained to a still more advanced period. And even in those which have clustered pillars, we miss the depth and boldness of combination to which we are accustomed in those of our own land. The pillars at Rouen and Coutances are simply shafts set in the angles of a rectangular mass, exactly like the compound pier of the Romanesque style, but such as we see in no English Cathedral which has a reasonable claim to be called Gothic, with the single exception of Wells. In others, as Amiens, and St. Denis, the pillars approach nearer to our notions, being composed of a large shaft surrounded by smaller ones, but the attached shafts are often of very inconsiderable dimensions. And we cannot but fail to remark the universal retention of the square abacus in the smaller shafts, and the strong classical tinge which even now pervades the foliage of the capitals. In fact the piers, taken alone, are some of them thoroughly Romanesque, and scarcely any can rank higher than Transition.

As might be expected from the Romanesque character of the piers, the mouldings of the arches which they support are very far from being so advanced as in England ; the square section has by no means vanished.¹

Yet with all this the continuous line prevails almost as completely as at York or Winchester. In some examples, as at St. Denis, the vaulting-shaft soars uninterruptedly from the ground ; at Amiens it is only broken by bands corresponding with the stages of the building. Even where continuity is least complete, the base of the vaulting-shaft rests upon the capital of the pier. In all cases the division into bays by a marked vertical line seems everywhere rigidly preserved. Yet it must be remembered that the Geometrical tracery is fully developed in many of the churches which retain the strongest traces of Romanesque. Nowhere do we find more perfect examples than at Amiens and Beauvais ; and even where the tracery is not thus complete, we find forms more advanced than at Ely and Sarum ; thus at Louviers, Dr. Whewell² says, "the clerestory windows are not threes or fives of lancets, nor do the French

¹ See Whewell's *German Churches*, p. 144.

² Page 175.

appear *ever* to have had these combinations ; they are two-light windows struggling towards tracery by means of circles in the head of the pair ;" such forms as are common enough in our own small churches, though they do not prevail to any great extent in English Cathedrals.

The true Lancet architecture of our own land, the glorious style of Sarum and Ely, seems abroad to be peculiar to Normandy ; thus much at least I infer from Dr. Whewell's remarks. The chief examples he mentions are the famous church of Norrey, the Abbey church of Ardenne, and the Seminary chapel at Bayeux. In all these, and in several smaller churches of the same province, all the peculiarities of our own style are to be found ; the lancet window grouped in triplets and couplets, with all its accompaniments of mouldings, tooth-ornament, abaci, bases, even detached shafts ; in short the pure Lancet style transported beyond the Channel. They present, what the great French Cathedrals do not present, a thoroughly Gothic style, free from Romanesque on the one hand and from Geometrical on the other. One can hardly doubt that these buildings are French only by geographical position ; when we consider the intimate connection which then existed between Normandy and England, and that the Lancet style was developed in England before their political separation, we cannot fail to consider them either as direct imitations of English structures, or at least as the working of a common element in the Norman mind on both sides the water. We know that the architecture of the two countries retained points of affinity in other respects, especially in the use of the central tower, which must be assigned to one or other of these causes. Perhaps in this case we may best suppose a simultaneous growth, for Norrey at least is as little like an English parish church as any building one can imagine ; it is only in architecture, not in outline, that we find the resemblance.

The Early Gothic of Germany is a very great advance on that of France in purity and consistency, and every feature of a good style of architecture. German Gothic stood the conflict with Romanesque well, and came out whole and perfect, without any fragmentary relics of the former style clinging to her ; Cologne, Oppenheim, Marburg, and Freyburg, are higher efforts of Gothic art than the most celebrated churches of France. In several res-

pects indeed French and German Gothic may be classed together in opposition to English ; the main lines of both present a much nearer approximation to the Continuous than is found in the English ; there is in both greater comparative height, and consequently less importance is given to the triforium ; and to come to a very important feature, though one not directly bearing upon the question of style, the doorways are of greater size and more frequently divided by a shaft. But the German Geometrical style has worked itself free from Romanesque ideas in detail, a fact the more remarkable as it retained in occasional use several of the old national peculiarities of the previous style, for instance the central octagon, as at Oppenheim ; apsidal transepts, as at St. Elizabeth at Marburg ; even double choirs, as at Oppenheim. But the best buildings have got rid of square abaci, and substituted octagonal ; foliage, mouldings, everything in short, is pure Gothic, which cannot be said of Coutances or even Amiens. Indeed, as Mr. Petit¹ says, "this style, as exhibited in Germany, seems to be worked with greater sharpness, and, in fact, to forestal more of the character of the next, than with ourselves." This in a certain sense, the French buildings did, but not in the same way as the famous church at Oppenheim, whose Geometrical portion, commenced in 1262 and finished in 1317, "almost approaches to the next style in the sharpness of its mouldings, and the flowing lines of its tracery."²

The windows of the German Early Gothic differ in several points from our own. The spherical square, a figure of less elegance in itself, but more easily managed, often takes the place of the circle in the centre-pieces of large windows, of which we have a rare example in the west front at Howden. The circular window is less common than in France ; the noblest transept-fronts, Cologne, Oppenheim, and Altenberg, have merely pointed windows. Yet, notwithstanding these two facts, the influence of the circle in the formation of tracery is much greater in German than in English Geometrical ; the wheel tracery diverging from a centre is very frequent, and that in a purer form than in England. Some of the aisle windows at Oppenheim are little more than rose windows set under pointed arches. There is a great prevalence of very long narrow windows, of the proportions of the

¹ I. 170.² Ibid. 168.

slenderest lancets, but with tracery in their heads. Such occur in the towers at Marburg, the transepts at Oppenheim, and the apsidal chapels of Cologne, but the tall narrow faces of an aisleless apse afford them their greatest play. We have an approximation at home in that of Lichfield, but their full slenderness and narrowness is reserved for the apse at Oppenheim. In these cases the tracery often commences, indeed it is almost driven to commence, lower than the spring of the arch. One remarkable feature is the absence of the dripstone; Mr. Petit¹ remarks that the omission of this, which is deemed almost an essential member in our architecture, takes away but little from the richness of the German Gothic. In rich buildings its place is often supplied by tall gabled canopies, as at Cologne and the nave of Oppenheim. Another feature of very enriched buildings, as Cologne and Strasburg, is the *double plane* of tracery.

Though the German Gothic churches retain somewhat of the old national arrangements, the Romanesque variety of outline is gone; and it is in this respect that the great superiority of England appears. Many of the grandest churches lack the central tower; Cologne has but an insignificant lantern; Ulm, Freyburg, Strasburg, Marburg, all have their steeples at the west end; the two first having a single western tower, a feature unknown to English Gothic churches of that size. All the towers of this date seem designed for spires of the noblest class, and would be imperfect without; there is no tower, like Lincoln, complete in itself. Of spires the first place is due to Freyburg and Cologne, which for the splendour of their open tracery, and the admirable joining with the square tower, must be allowed to surpass anything in England. And they are real spires, standing out in the full majesty of the pyramidal outline, not disguised and confused as at Antwerp, Strasburg, and Vienna. The towers at Oppenheim and Seligenstadt are finished with bulbous, oriental-looking cupolas; I know not their date, but the effect of the latter in Mr. Petit's etching is very far from unpleasant.

From the great height of the clerestory, the height of the pier-arches is hardly so great as in France; the pillars are mostly

¹ I. 171.

very boldly clustered, but at Altenberg they are cylindrical. The Continuous vaulting-shaft seems universal, as might be expected from its prevalence in the national Romanesque. The vaulting itself is usually of the simplest form. The great western arch of Cologne—one cannot help speaking as if the church were complete—is a remarkable anticipation of the next style, all capitals having disappeared.

On comparing the different forms of Early Gothic, I think we may assume that the palm must lie between England and Germany; the palm, I mean, as to style; for in grandeur and general effect France is not a whit behind either. But the Romanesque elements which still linger about French churches must prevent their being compared with either the English or the German as examples of the style. And between these it might be difficult to decide, each having its own merits. England may perhaps however be allowed to boast of having produced the examples which exhibit the style most thoroughly carried out, and that in two distinct forms. Germany has nothing to balance against our Lancet buildings, which are yet as truly and perfectly Gothic as Cologne or Oppenheim; we must be allowed to possess two forms of beauty, where they can claim but one. And German Gothic anticipated from the beginning many features of the Continuous style. From its birth it possessed continuous vaulting-shafts, panelling, pinnacles, canopies, which do not belong to our earliest Gothic. The German buildings contemporary with the Presbytery of Lincoln, or even that of Ely, have much greater affinity with the nave of York. "In fact," says Mr. Petit,¹ "the German architect seems at an early period to have combined the sharp-edged mouldings of the one [style] with the Geometrical tracery of the other, and thus to have produced a peculiar and very pleasing kind of Transition." He instances Freyburg and Strasburg steeples, and continues; "Oppenheim church may also be considered as belonging rather to a transition between the two styles, than wholly to either. Such Transition, as we have observed, if the styles are of equal excellence, may rival both: undoubtedly it does so in the present instance."

We may then conclude that the Early Gothic churches of Germany, as possessing in so great a degree the higher beauties

¹ I. 195.

of the Continuous style, approach nearer to the ideal perfection of Gothic architecture, while the English more thoroughly carry out the peculiar character of its Early form. In Germany Gothic architecture leaped at once to its highest actual perfection—no one can call German Flamboyant anything but a debasement; it has but one form of the highest beauty; we gained the same point by a more circuitous path, but, both before and after, developed other forms of excellence unknown to any other country.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE LATE OR CONTINUOUS GOTHIC.

THE difficulty of drawing any accurate line between this and the previous style, different as they are in principle, has been already remarked. The change, as was to be expected from its nature, was one so very gradual, that even in tracery it is difficult to establish any fixed boundary, and still less can it be done in the other portions of the building. Still we can distinctly observe the gradual advance of the Continuous principle to the supremacy which at last it fully established.

We will first of all briefly consider the windows of this style. In all the forms of Flowing tracery there is a tendency to Perpendicular, an element not introduced *ab externo*, but latent in the style itself, which gradually grew up into the complete Perpendicular window. Whether the tendency was a good or a bad one, whether the evolution of Perpendicular was a development or a corruption, is a matter of taste, with which we are here not concerned. Our only business is with the question of fact, whether Perpendicular was or was not a natural offspring of Flowing Decorated. This the writer in the "Ecclesiologist" already¹ quoted, maintains is the case with Flamboyant, though he looks upon that style as a very degenerate descendant; while Perpendicular he considers as no development at all, but a distinct invention

¹ See above, p. 339.

which sprang at once to life and to maturity, from the brain of the greatest of English architects,—prelate, statesman, founder,—William of Wykeham of famous memory. I apprehend that the only ground for this supposition is the ease with which that immortal name can be fixed upon for the purpose. We happen to know in whose erections the style was first brought to perfection, and we not only know his name, but are familiar with his character and history, and know that his buildings form an important epoch in the history of the art. We cannot make so probable a guess at the author of Geometrical or of Flowing forms, yet they must have each had an author; we must not so talk of development as to forget that every improvement in architecture must have been devised in some human brain; some one must have first thought of piercing the space above a couplet, some one else of fusing a number of Geometrical figures together; and I apprehend that William of Wykeham, if he really invented the Perpendicular style, did nothing more than they had done. Whether what he did was as judiciously designed, whether his innovation was as great an improvement as theirs, is a consideration altogether alien to our present question of fact. But if I am correct in supposing that Flowing tracery contained a Perpendicular element in itself, it is clear that the illustrious Bishop of Winchester could not have been the inventor of Perpendicular in the sense intended by the “Ecclesiologist.” He may have deteriorated the style, he may have converted a defect to which it was liable into an animating feature; all I here contend for is that he, or whoever else was the author of Perpendicular, could have introduced no new principle even in tracery, but simply called into greater, it may be undue, prominence one which he found already at work.

Flowing tracery in strictness admitted of no intermediate¹ form between Geometrical and itself, yet the forms of the two styles might be mingled together to any extent. And we accordingly continually find, not only contemporary Geometrical and Flowing windows even in the same building, but the two styles combined in the same window, in a variety of ways of greater or less skill of combination. So in the Transition between the two English forms of Continuous tracery, besides the actual ap-

¹ Paley's *Architecture*, p. 173.

proximation to Perpendicular in the Flowing lines, we meet with many examples in which portions of the two forms are mingled in the same window. These instances are altogether different from the more imperceptible form of Transition; and there can indeed be little doubt that these are, as the supporters of the antagonist theory maintain,¹ posterior to the introduction of the complete Perpendicular, the work of artists endeavouring to produce perfect specimens of the latter, but who were not entirely emancipated from the influence of earlier forms. At the same time this fact expresses nothing peculiar to the particular Transition between Flowing and Perpendicular; it is a character common to all Transitions. One cannot doubt that some of the instances of intermingled Geometrical and Flowing tracery are in like manner owing to artists habituated to the former endeavouring to imitate windows of the latter kind. And this stage is not, as has been sometimes implied, confined to rude country churches; it occurs in at least three² cathedrals, including *Wykeham's own church*; a fact which appears fatal to the notion of his being the inventor of the style, in the sense intended.³

The whole class of Continuous windows exhibit several peculiarities distinguishing them from the Geometrical, which are, for the most part, introduced during the Flowing period, and become only more predominant during the Perpendicular. One of these is the gradual loss of splay and of shafts. Shafts are common enough in Flowing windows, and are not excluded from Perpendicular, but their absence is never missed as it is in Geometrical. In large Perpendicular windows the mullions are commonly set in the centre of the wall. Small ones, continually in Flowing, and often in Perpendicular, retain a wide splay and rear-arch, but this is not the genius of the style.

¹ *Ecclesiologist*, v. 244.

² York, Canterbury, and Winchester.

³ This also throws great doubt upon the opinion of Professor Willis, that the west part of Winchester nave is early Perpendicular, erected by Wykeham as architect,

during the episcopacy of his predecessor Edington; an opinion which I have already heard questioned by competent *antiquaries*; especially in an article in the "*Archæological Journal*," signed E. B.

A greater licence is given as to the form of the window-head ; besides the simple pointed and segmental arches, both of which continue in use, the ogee is often found in Flowing windows, especially in Northamptonshire. And a plain pointed arch is often finished with an ogee canopy. Square-headed windows, so rare before, are now very frequent ; they were in common use throughout the period of Flowing tracery, especially in clerestories, of which Northamptonshire affords numberless instances. Indeed the extensive use of the square head at this time was a local peculiarity in that district, not only in clerestories, but in aisles and chancels.

But the application of the four-centred arch is the great peculiarity of the Perpendicular style. Its best forms exhibit a very graceful curve, and where the window is of no great comparative height, the effect is very good ; in a very tall window it always seems out of place, but in such positions the best examples commonly avoid it. In some cases the upper segments are much flattened, and hardly differ from straight lines, as in the immense windows of the Divinity School at Oxford ; sometimes again, especially in the case of lofty and comparatively narrow windows, (as if to obviate the defect just mentioned,) they are acutely pointed, as in the chancel at Adderbury, and All Souls' College Chapel. It is hardly necessary to mention the various depressed forms employed when architecture began to decline, though they are to be found in such gorgeous examples as Henry VII.'s Chapel, and the choir-roof of Oxford Cathedral. The four-centred arch with an ogee head is found in the large window inserted in the west front of Canons' Ashby Priory-church, and has a very curious effect. But, after all, the simple pointed arch is the most predominant in the largest and finest Perpendicular buildings, as in Canterbury Cathedral and all Wykeham's buildings, and even in Bath Abbey and King's College Chapel it is more used than the other. Mr. Paley truly remarks,¹ that in large windows under gables it is almost always employed. The east and west windows of King's Chapel are exceptions, owing to the form of the vault.

There is also a tendency more or less prominently at work throughout the Continuous style, to extend the ornamental stone-

¹ Gothic Architecture, p. 186.

work below the springing of the arch. In the Early style it is almost exclusively confined to the actual window head, except when the arch is segmental, and consequently sufficient room not afforded. But now the continuation of the tracery below the spring of the arch is very frequent, not only when involved by the employment of very depressed arches, but where there was no such restraint, sometimes even during the prevalence of Flowing tracery, as in a window in Oxford Cathedral, and, above all, in the eastern window of Dorchester, where the whole opening is filled with tracery.

But the way in which this tendency is chiefly carried out is in the increased frequency of transoms. In Early Gothic churches these are scarcely ever found, except in unglazed apertures,¹ and even there not commonly; such an example as those in the chapter-house at Oxford is probably unique.² But now they gradually become prevalent; during the Flowing period they are less common,³ but when the Perpendicular style was fully developed they came very extensively into use, and were often repeated several times, as in the west window of Winchester Cathedral.

The mouldings of the complete Perpendicular are very easily recognized, there being one or two very palpable peculiarities, besides smaller and more recondite differences. One is the use of a very broad and shallow cavetto, which in the best examples is very boldly worked, and casts an excellent shadow. Others are the greater prevalence of angles, the frequent use of ogees, and especially double ogees, the absence of fillets, the more common hollowing of chamfers, and the more frequent uninterrupted fusing of rounds and hollows together. The distinction of orders too is lost, the mouldings being worked on a single chamfer. Generally, as Mr. Petit observes,⁴ the architects of this period "substituted for that roundness which prevailed as well in the sections of the mouldings and in the forms of tracery, a certain sharpness and angularity, which might produce with greater ease, both to the designer and workman, the contrasts

¹ With these we must reckon *architecturally* the mysterious openings called "lychnoscopes." Their use or symbolism is another matter.

² That in the west window at Howden is an insertion.

³ See Paley's *Gothic Architecture*, 183, 4.

⁴ I. 173.

of light and shade, and the varieties of line, so necessary to give richness and effect."

Nowhere is the transitional character of Decorated work so clearly shown as in these mouldings, which sink gently from the pure Lancet to the complete Perpendicular, without ever assuming any distinctive *character*. And this notwithstanding the prevalence of several very distinctive *details*, as the scroll moulding and the ball-flower. During the predominance of the Flowing line in the tracery, the mouldings exhibit a gradual approximation to Perpendicular forms; the hollows become less bold, ogees more frequent, fillets less common. The mouldings are more commonly found continuous between shafts, and the shafts themselves, where retained, become of less importance, sinking into mere bowtels with a capital and base. Still the Flowing style retained these comparatively insignificant shafts in great abundance, both in window-jambs, and even against mullions. In Perpendicular they are very rarely found in this last position,¹ and when used in jambs, are usually confined to the interior. We sometimes find such shafts or bowtels, with bases, but without capitals, which is more usual abroad.

Turning to the contemplation of whole churches in the Continuous style, we shall find that the chief changes in outline result from the greater licence given in the form of gables. The low gable appears to have been originally introduced for the purpose of introducing a clerestory without affecting the general proportions of the building. Most of the low gables of the Flowing period occur when a clerestory has been added to an existing church, or when the church has been rebuilt without any other departure from the old proportions. But it gradually extended itself so as to be a characteristic of the style; at last we not only find churches originally so built, but roofs have often been lowered without any elevation being given to the walls, manifestly to the great detriment of the building. The nave of Romsey Abbey, the transepts of Ely Cathedral, and the chancel² of St. Giles'

¹ There is an exception in the magnificent seven-light east window of St. John's Glastonbury, where the arch is four-centred, and the tracery decided, probably late,

Perpendicular, though, as is often found, introducing a considerable *return* to earlier forms.

² The present pitch is much later and lower.

Northampton, all had their roofs considerably lowered in Decorated times, though not so completely flattened as afterwards. But as a general rule, when there was no special reason to the contrary, roofs remained high till the full development of Perpendicular. Then they are generally low, so as to be hidden by the parapet, but sometimes, though not high-pitched, they rise above it, as at Yatton and Fotheringhay. The high gable was however freely used when occasion required; thus at Canterbury and Winchester Cathedrals the same high pitch is preserved throughout; at Winchester this is the more remarkable an adaptation to the old work, as Wykeham's original structures are all low-pitched. The result of this change was the more common employment of lead as a covering, and the use of parapets plain, pierced, or embattled, even in the smallest churches.

In the side elevations, the buttresses attain a greater projection and a larger number of stages, while the windows occupy the whole, or nearly the whole, of the space between them. In the Flowing style this is less palpably the case, though many of the finest buildings differ but little from the alternation of window and buttress in the complete Perpendicular. There are some excessively fine chancels in this style, (including some which have the same general effect, though the windows are not free from Early tracery,¹) in which the alternation is very conspicuous, though the windows are usually not quite so large as in complete Perpendicular; the roofs are high-pitched, the east window commonly of five lights, with three or four windows of three lights on each side, between bold buttresses, all well furnished with strings, and exhibiting that regularity and finish which generally distinguishes Continuous from Early buildings. Sometimes, either from being originally so built, or from alterations in the latter, they exceed the nave in height, or even in every proportion, as at Claybrook and Aylestone, Leicestershire, and above all in the superb choir of Cotterstock.

But in the complete Perpendicular, the bold projecting buttresses, and the vast windows occupying the space between, have an effect altogether overwhelming. The majesty of such a range stretching far away is essentially architectural splendour as op-

¹ As Chartham, Norbury, (see Petit, i. 177, ii. 102,) and Bushbury, near Wolverhampton.

posed to mere picturesque beauty. Large churches of the Early style may often rival it, but the great merit of Perpendicular is that it carries its principles into the parish church as well as the cathedral, and the same regularity of design and splendour of execution are bestowed on both. The aisles of Winton church afford a prospect fully equal in every respect but size to those of Canterbury Cathedral or King's College Chapel. As other splendid examples of this complete filling up the external surface with the alternate buttress and window, I may refer to New College Chapel, the chancel of Adderbury, and the "diaphanous" aisles of Fotheringhay. I know of no church which more impressed me with the majesty of the Perpendicular arrangement in this respect, than that glorious fragment, notwithstanding the glaring faults of other portions of the design.

The clerestory is almost universal in the best specimens of aisled churches, but its proportions are very various, both in large and small buildings. At Canterbury it is of moderate height, and the aisles are the most prominent feature; at Bath, as we have already seen,¹ the clerestory is almost every thing, the church being clearly designed with reference to it as the predominant object. Here of course are immense flying buttresses, which occur also at Canterbury: but at Winchester, Gloucester, York, and other large churches, they are entirely absent, or of very limited application. One hardly knows how to account for their presence at Fotheringhay, which has a wooden roof and an elevation of but forty feet.

In parochial churches the clerestory is not often of very great height, the additional elevation being commonly taken out in the aisles; the generality of Perpendicular clerestories are not much higher than the Geometrical examples at Warmington and Barnwell St. Andrew's.

In the great churches which are Perpendicular from the ground we commonly find the arrangement of bays strictly carried out, though each bay of the clerestory often contains, as at Newark, two windows placed close together, so as to form, externally at least, a continuous range. The magnificent churches of Somerset have commonly one pointed window over each bay, and that often of no great size, so that the clerestory is not nearly

¹ See above, p. 351, note.

so much of a "glass-house" as the aisles. The Somersetshire churches are often finished with beautifully pierced parapets without a battlement; in the smaller examples the clerestory is sometimes absent. The "fringing the outline with pinnacles"¹ is one of the greatest advantages of the low roof and Perpendicular style.

There seems to have been no part of a church which the Perpendicular architects were more anxious to bring under the domination of their own style than the clerestory; they not only added it to small churches where it had previously no existence, but reconstructed it on their own principles in large ones; as at Rochester, Oxford, and Gloucester. Indeed it cannot be denied that Perpendicular builders often ran wild in their love of clerestories; for to add them to buildings without aisles, or to the aisles themselves, is a simple barbarism. Two ranges of windows in the same wall never look well under ordinary circumstances. The intrusion has most frequently taken place in chancels, when the high roofs have been destroyed, and the walls raised to the height, or nearly the height of the nave, as at Towcester and Market-Harborough.

But the noblest external feature of the Continuous style is undoubtedly its magnificent steeples, both with and without spires. To quote the words of an opponent, "Even in the most brilliant period of Middle-Pointed, spires became ornamental appendages to the tower: and this, it may be said, was the first symptom of the decline of Christian art. Instead of being broach, they began to spring out of the middle of the tower, and were sometimes abutted on by small flying buttresses from the angles. The first instance of this is said to be at St. Michael, Langtoft, Lincolnshire; and that is as early as 1330. But the corruption did not make much progress for thirty years after: and then it very suddenly obtained."² The broach continues throughout the Decorated period, of which we have such examples as Irchester, the magnificent crocketed spire at Market-Harborough—one of the most perfect steeples of its size in existence—and above all, the famous one at Newark; but in Perpendicular it is rare and local, nearly all the few examples existing being confined to the borders of Leicestershire and

¹ Petit, ii. 77.

² Handbook of Ecclesiology, p. 197.

Northamptonshire. The other form is the typical one of the Continuous style, and when well carried out far surpasses the broach in richness and symmetry. Its ruder form,¹ where it rises unconnectedly from the centre of an embattled tower, is decidedly inferior, but when it exhibits its full array of pierced parapet, pinnacles, and flying buttresses, nothing can surpass it. The same general character pervades both varieties of the style, and it is only by the minutest details that they can generally be distinguished, as the Perpendicular belfry-window was introduced very early, and the Decorated spire-light always prevailed; the spires are usually very taper and lofty, and mostly crocketed. There cannot be a more perfectly beautiful example than Rushden, whether for outline or detail. The magnificent structure at Louth is familiar to all. I ought also to mention the well-known flying spire of St. Nicholas, New-castle, but I cannot bring myself to admire it.

The spire is now more frequently set on an octagon; the grand example is of course St. Michael's at Coventry, which may fairly claim to rank with Sarum and Freyburg. Nothing can surpass its graceful sublimity of outline, and its grouping with the other two spires of the city is admirable. When the cathedral church was in being, which is described as resembling the most graceful of Minsters, its sister Lichfield, on a grander scale, few scenes in the world could have equalled the effect of the already glorious precinct. Northamptonshire will supply several examples of smaller size.

The spire having been thus reduced to an ornamental appendage, and the tower being often of such a character as to be complete without it, it was an easy development to omit the spire altogether, and work up the tower alone into a prominent feature. "The square tower with its capping of battlements and pinnacles (I cannot name a better example than that of Magdalen College, Oxford,) is one of the noblest features of Gothic architecture, and is peculiarly our own: nor is it confined to one class of buildings; the town, the village, the episcopal city, alike boast it as their chief ornament. It appears of every degree of plainness or richness, and appears to have been in general use from the late Decorated to the very extinction of Gothic."²

¹ See above, p. 349.

² Petit, I. 209.

The simplest and plainest form of tower which can have any pretence to architectural design may be found in some parts of Kent; these have an octagonal turret at one corner, and at the others diagonal buttresses, for the most part terminating under the belfry windows, which are square-headed, and the battlement quite plain, without pinnacles. The form which differs from these mainly in the omission of the turret, the substitution of a pointed window, and the occasional addition of pinnacles, is common everywhere.

But the land of enriched Perpendicular towers is the west. They begin to make their appearance in an undeveloped form in Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Dorset; attain their culminating point in the unrivalled glories of Somerset; and appear again to die away in Devonshire. So many and so various are the instances that I will principally confine myself to those which I have myself seen. The larger and most splendid examples divide themselves into two classes; those which are simply a series of stages placed one upon another without much connection; and those in which the whole upper part of the tower is one mass of panelling, like two belfry windows of gigantic height, repeatedly transomed, and the upper part being actually¹ open as such. Among the first class Taunton is allowed to take the first rank; but its arrangement for unity and verticality cannot be for a moment compared with the other kind. The belfry windows are commonly double or treble, often richly adorned with canopies and pinnacles, but having no connection with the work below. A corner turret, often crowned with a tall pinnacle, frequently occurs. The parapets are various, sometimes flat and pierced, sometimes with a rich open battlement; pinnacles, sometimes swelling into open lanterns, are general.

Still more grand and lovely are the other class, in which the whole tower rises from the ground in one harmonious design, the very triumph of Gothic architecture. Such are the three stately and magnificent steeples of St. John, Glastonbury, St. Cuthbert, Wells, and St. Mary, Wrigton, among which it would be difficult to assign a scale of precedence. Glastonbury is the

¹ They are usually filled with rich perforated stone-work instead of luffer-boards.

loftiest, Wells has in the octagonal lanterns at its angles a more agreeable form than the square ones of the others, while Wington is unsurpassed for graceful beauty. No village tower which I know can be compared to it for a moment, and the nave and aisles are, so far as I have seen, only rivalled by Banwell. It is much to be regretted that both in this, and in many other churches of the neighbourhood, the chancels, retained from earlier fabrics, are so unworthy of the gorgeous creations to which they are attached, and which doubtless owe their existence to the skill and piety of the mighty house of Glastonbury, some even perhaps to its last and martyred abbot.

The tendency of Perpendicular is decidedly to western towers, which is much to be regretted, as the immense length of such buildings as Tamworth, Newark, and Coventry, demands the break afforded by the central tower. Still we have several fine Perpendicular central towers, both of churches originally designed in that style, and reconstructions of others. The finest form is unquestionably where the tower is surrounded by octagonal turrets at each corner, as in the glory of all towers, that of Canterbury; which is of two stages, with two windows in each, and is beyond all praise for the manner in which they are combined into a most superb and harmonious whole. The same arrangement occurs at Ashford in Kent, and at St. Sampson's, Cricklade, a tower of faultless proportions and most striking in a distant view, but which disappoints on a nearer approach by the strange fact that it has no belfry windows, the whole upper stage being simply covered with panelling. Gloucester Cathedral has a famous tower, but I cannot rank it with Canterbury; its surface seems rather frittered away, it lacks the majestic corner turrets, and its square pinnacles cannot compare with the octagonal ones of its rival.

Of detached campaniles I need only mention that of Magdalen College; every one is familiar with its height, its plain lower stage, its splendid upper portion, its turrets, pinnacles, inches, and open battlements.

The octagon, before chiefly used as a base for a spire, a use of which however we have seen that the most splendid examples occur in this style, is now made into a finish for a square tower. And surely no form can be more elegant or more thoroughly

vertical than such a lantern when it has attained the full Perpendicular development, and rises in the forest of pinnacles which crowns the stupendous height of Boston, and the lowlier, but still stately tower of Fotheringhay. The campanile at Irthlingborough is detached and of late Decorated date, having square-headed windows with Reticulated tracery; the octagon is of remarkable height, without pinnacles, and has a half-military look. The upper part of a low central tower—all indeed that is free from the church—is also occasionally octagonal, as at Nantwich, Stafford, and Tong. Stafford did, and Tong still does, carry a spire, but of no great height and not forming a necessary part of the design.

Continuous doorways are of various forms, and manifest the gradual development in their shafts and mouldings which has been already described. Everdon church, Northamptonshire, has a splendid shafted doorway of that period of Decorated which may be considered as transitional from the Early Gothic to this style. There are a good many late Decorated doorways in the southern parts of Northamptonshire, with a pinnacle on each side, and a crocketed ogee canopy to the arch. The effect is very good, and is continued in the Perpendicular tower of Chipping Wardon. But the most typical form has a square label with divers ornaments in the spandrils; originally the label only is square, but afterwards many of the mouldings follow the same form. The west doorway at Middleton Cheney is a splendid example, richly adorned with niches, panelling, and foliage, but still retaining a trace of the other arrangement in the ogee form of the inner label.

Porches now grow in importance, though they do not often attain to the gigantic scale of that at Cirencester: the best are commonly of two stories, of the full height of the aisle, with the lower or entrance story vaulted. The west front of Magdalen Chapel has a curious shallow porch, if it deserves the name, an arch with open spandrils being thrown across in front of its magnificent western doorway. The like arrangement is found in the great gateway.

Turn we now to the interior; the first point that strikes us is that the difference between Collegiate and Parochial churches has nearly vanished. This position has been denied, on the

ground that no Perpendicular building can be perfect which is not one mass of panelling. This is indeed a feature of very great splendour when it occurs ; but it surely cannot be considered as any more essential to this style than the analogous enrichment of arcading is to its predecessor. And certainly, just as the regular windows and buttresses of the exterior make the parish church approximate to the Minster, so the like is the case in many of their internal features. St. Mary Redcliffe is assuredly to be reckoned architecturally as a member of the latter class, yet it is only the carrying out of the Somersetshire parish churches. In both we have the same tall pillars and small arches supporting a clerestory without a triforium, and the same shafts running up to the roof. Make the pillars rather stouter, and add vaulting, less essential as it now becomes, and the difference between Winchester and Canterbury, and Wroughton and Yatton, is pretty well reduced to one of size and ornament. Such a nave as St. Mary's Oxford might stand as part of a Cathedral almost without change. The prevailing presence of the clerestory in the one class of churches, and the absence of the triforium from the other, so that they thus meet one another half-way, together with the substitute for vaulting afforded in the rich timber roof common to both, of course contribute greatly to this change.

It was in the pillars that Early ideas prevailed latest ; a large pier still remained for the most part a cluster of columns, and a small one octagonal or even cylindrical, after the window had developed into confirmed Flowing tracery ; the octagonal column indeed is retained during the whole prevalence of the Perpendicular style. But even in Decorated times we find occasional traces that Continuity was busy here also. The pillars in the choir of Ely are channelled with mouldings continued round the arches, the shafts being simply attached to the cardinal faces ; an essentially Perpendicular arrangement. Several small parish churches possess Decorated arches channelled from base to apex with continuous mouldings, unbroken by shaft, capital, or impost. This is indeed continuity run wild, and is rarely found even in Perpendicular buildings.

The genuine Perpendicular pillar is generally of a lozenge form, its greatest length ranging north and south ; in many cases the capital does not embrace the whole pier, some of the

mouldings being continuous, as in those at Ely just mentioned. Even when this is not the case, as at St. Mary's, Oxford, it still preserves the character of a channelled mass with shafts attached, rather than a cluster of shafts. Shafts commonly run up to support the roof, even when of wood. At Canterbury the pier-arches are thrust into quite a secondary position, the vaulting and vaulting-shafts being the main features, hardly less than in King's College Chapel. They have but one order of mouldings supported by a single shaft, while at Winchester there are two. There can be little doubt as to the great superiority of the latter; the prominence given to the pier-arch does not in the least interfere with that of the vaulting.

The pillars are now very much taller, and the arches proportionably narrower, than before. This is nowhere so conspicuously shown as in the belfry-arches, the height of which is often most striking. In the arcades, the shafts running up to the roof divide the church into tall narrow compartments, as is especially seen at Yatton. Shafts are sometimes banded as in the Early style; this has been often remarked at Canterbury, but it occurs also at Bath, Wrington, and Yatton.

The capitals are most frequently octagonal, and composed simply of mouldings; still there are many examples, especially in Somerset, of round capitals adorned with foliage. Similar ones crown the vaulting-shafts at Winchester. The bases are usually octagonal, and set upon very high plinths. One might almost imagine this practice was caused by the growing use of fixed seats in churches, which, even in their lowest and most inoffensive form, would conceal the low bases of the earlier styles. Of course, as in all other cases, the fashion, when once set, would be applied in positions where the original reason did not apply. The clustered or channelled pier is much more common in small churches than it had previously been, but the octagonal form is freely used. Enormous piers of this form have been inserted under the Romanesque arches in the choir of St. Cross.

The only distinct and large triforium which can be called Continuous is that in the choir of Ely; where it is of the full size, and is a manifest adaptation to the magnificent Lancet work in juxtaposition with it. One can hardly think such an one would have found a place in a strictly original design, after the

insignificance to which the triforium had been reduced at York and Exeter, and even in the adjoining contemporary octagon of this very Cathedral. But this Ely triforium is an attempt to clothe an Early outline in Continuous details, and as such, with all its beauty of workmanship, it must be pronounced an architectural failure. A triforium has an idea of its own, but an idea which cannot be clothed in Continuous forms; it is the creation of the shaft and arch, and cannot be translated into the language of the mullion and panel. At Ely we have only a two-light window¹ with Flowing tracery employed as a triforium. As a window its lights are too broad: as a triforium it is quite out of character; a triforium requires an air of solidity, and consequently the mullion and tracery, which in a window are graceful, are in a triforium simply flimsy. And the whole elevation is completely Perpendicular in idea; the continuous mouldings of the pier-arches have been already mentioned; both these and the triforium have the square² label and foliated spandril of the complete Perpendicular; the very jambs of the triforium have continuous mouldings between shafts of small projection; all forming the most utter contrast with the Lancet Presbytery. No church more completely shows the identity of late Decorated and Perpendicular than the work of Alan of Walsingham.

In the complete Perpendicular the triforium, as a distinct architectural member, has vanished. Canterbury and Winchester retain an arrangement analogous to that of Southwell choir, the passage being formed in the decorative clerestory, the lower part of which is solid and panelled. Fotheringhay has the cill of the clerestory window brought down in a similar manner, but without a passage or panelling. At Bath the clerestory is brought down to the string over the arcade, which is the arrangement of the best parish churches.

We now come to the roofs of this style, which both in wood and stone are more gorgeous than any other. Many of the latest stone roofs, though very gorgeous in point of ornament,

¹ In some bays it is actually open as a window. No one would think of glazing that of the Presbytery.

² This is not very common even in Perpendicular pier-arches; in

small churches the space is generally left bare, in large it is occupied with panelling connected with that above.

exhibit very depressed arches, pendants,¹ and a general want of harmonious design. Excluding these, which must be considered as debasements, we may divide the vaulted roofs of this style into two classes, those which still retain the quadripartite construction; however lost in the profusion of decorative ribs; and those to which the gorgeous invention of fan-tracery is applied. In the former class it is impossible to draw any marked line; the simplicity of Sarum and the elaborate magnificence of Canterbury are separated by gradations so gentle that they can hardly be marked even into stages, unless we so call the point at which ribs began to break and diverge in a way showing them even to the eye to be merely decorative—panelling applied to the roof—and probably giving the germ of fan-tracery.

But while the simple vaulting attained a more complete development, Perpendicular also brought forward its own creation of fan-tracery. Taking the inverted semi-cones alone, nothing can be more vertical or more vegetable than the multiplicity of divergent ribs spreading from the top of the vaulting-shaft. But the spaces necessarily left between them afford a difficulty analogous to that in Geometrical tracery, as they can hardly be brought into connection with the other parts. Still the effect is very noble. It is perhaps more commonly used for small buildings, as cloisters and small chapels, than over wider spaces; but it also occurs on a gigantic scale in King's College Chapel and the choir of Bath Cathedral.

The substitute for vaulting in the form of enriched wooden roofs was, like most Continuous features, conceived in the Flowing age, and carried to its greatest perfection in Perpendicular. The best example I know of the former is the famous one at Adderbury, of medium pitch, and with bold foliations cut in the solid. There is another of somewhat similar character at Thurcaston, Leicestershire.

To describe the infinite variety of Perpendicular wooden roofs would both require greater space than I can afford, and greater mechanical knowledge than I can pretend to, especially as the East-Anglian examples of high pitch are known to me only by

¹ These seem an application of a wooden notion to stone; this is manifestly shown in the vaulting over the choir of Oxford Cathedral, which is very much like a timber roof.

report and engravings. As far as I can thus judge, I cannot but think the hammer-beam or trefoil roof, magnificent as it is, far more suited for a hall than a church. But the most distinctively Perpendicular roof is low-pitched, with tie-beams supported by an arch, usually four-centred, which generally rise from figures of angels, with outspread wings, either as corbels or as the capitals of shafts; the spandrils, cornices, and bosses allow of any amount of enrichment. Somersetshire affords magnificent examples at Wrington, Wells, and Glastonbury. On a still larger scale we may refer to the two University churches, St. Mary's, Stafford, and the Cathedrals of Rochester and Oxford. The former is plain and heavy, the latter very rich, and remarkable for the arches below the tie-beams being semi-circular, evidently to adapt them to the Romanesque arches of the lantern, with which they come in close contact. Others, especially in the west, and under a higher external roof, are ribbed, being composed of a series of wooden arches, round or pointed, close together. A richer variety of the same form is the coved roof, with a series of similar arches at greater distances, and boarded between, as at Yatton and Banwell, being in fact very nearly a wooden barrel-vault. Sometimes a roof is flat or nearly so, or there is a flat wooden ceiling, as that most gorgeous one over the nave of St. Alban's Abbey-church.

Among the superb monuments of the complete Perpendicular style, the first place is undoubtedly due to the nave of Winchester. Making every allowance for the feelings with which one approaches the Cathedral-church of that mighty bishopric, whose long line of prelates boasts so many of the most famous names of Christendom, and the greatest of all, its own illustrious builder; within whose walls so many saints and heroes, and that builder himself, still repose—and endeavouring to pass a calm judgment upon a work hallowed by such associations, and farther allowing every due merit to those who first designed the pile which Wykeham did but re-model, no one can deny to that glorious temple a place in the very first rank, even in the land of Westminster and Lincoln. Nothing among all the products of architecture can be more overpowering than the series of tall shafts and arches, all pointing heavenwards, and extending along its interminable length a succession of the same glorious forms,

broken only by an occasional remnant of the former pile, and by the gorgeous tomb of the illustrious founder. St. Alban's exceeds in mere length, but there the general effect is broken by the varieties of architecture, none of which can pretend to the same excellence in their own kind as the one form at Winchester. It is the grandest example of a church of such vast length carried out in one consistent style of Gothic; the slight variety in the western part makes no difference whatever in a general view. Great length *internally* is not at all opposed to verticality, it is only excess in breadth which has to be guarded against. To the eye gazing along its whole expanse the two lines which bound the eastern or western termination are, as Dr. Whewell says, the real centre of the whole; the sides, of whatever length, sink into mere strips, and consequently the longer their range, the more numerous¹ is the close array of vertical lines of which they are composed. And the nave of Winchester has the advantage of combining the solemnity of the massive Romanesque with the buoyancy of the aspiring Perpendicular; its pillars are at once solid and lofty, being the original Romanesque piers raised without any diminution of diameter. And if it be argued that these merits are in a great degree to be ascribed to Walkelyn rather than to Wykeham, it may be fairly answered that they show his judgment in the exact amount of retention on which he decided, —one which allowed him all the excellence to be derived from the proportions of the elder fabric, while it did not in the least cramp his energies in carrying out the full resources of his own style. He did not utterly destroy, as at Canterbury, or merely overlay, as at Gloucester. The latter magnificent choir, loftier and more richly decorated than Wykeham's nave, and as striking in general effect, will not bear the same minute examination; it is but a web of tracery woven over the Romanesque structure, whose two lower stories remain in their full integrity within. With Canterbury I am not so familiar as with Winchester, and my recollections of it are more distant; it is more airy and soaring, but hardly possesses the same awful solemnity.

What the nave of Winchester is to the early Perpendicular,

¹ It is probably to a desire of obtaining these in greater perfection, that the frequent omission of the chancel-arch in this style is to be ascribed.

the chapel of King's College is to the late ; a most glorious example of the vigour and purity which English Gothic retained to its latest day. The form, size, and destination of this building render it perfectly unique. If Oxford has her *many* glorious fabrics, Cambridge has her *one*, infinitely beyond them all. King's Chapel most successfully avoids all the errors of the contemporary buildings, it has no sign of debasement, no overloading of ornament ; it is especially vigorous, nothing being frittered away upon petty detail, as in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The existence of so gigantic a structure without aisles is a remarkable fact, and it is wonderful how little the want of arcades is felt, the lines of the vaulting-shafts and windows fully supplying their place. Here too, as well as at Winchester, we perceive the sublime effect of a vast unbroken length.

The Continuous style of France is not Perpendicular, but Flamboyant ; the Flowing form hardly exists as a distinct style, Geometrical tracery having been retained much later than in England. The name is derived from the flame-like forms assumed by its panelling and tracery. Like the Perpendicular, this tracery is formed by the simple continuation of the mullions, and the foliation of the spaces between, the only difference being in the direction in which the lines are prolonged. Flamboyant tracery does certainly produce forms of the most extreme ugliness ; but on the other hand, when really well wrought, perhaps no other is so thoroughly satisfactory. It leaves no part of the window-head, or only the most insignificant parts, unoccupied ; and its peculiar curves combine the freedom of Flowing tracery with the thorough continuity of Perpendicular. In short the best Flamboyant tracery is decidedly better than the best Perpendicular ; but the very stiffness and sameness of the latter prevented the designer, unless he totally forsook the principle of formation, from running into all the wild extravagances of the worst Flamboyant, where unmeaning curves run heedlessly over the window, and are often without foliations. Genuine Flamboyant tracery is very rare in England, but principles and notions derived from it are perpetually obtruding themselves upon the Flowing forms ; a perfect Flamboyant window of the most beautiful and absolutely faultless design occurs at Salford in Warwickshire, and is figured in the Glossary.

The other details of Flamboyant agree with the tracery ; with greater capabilities for excellence than any other form of Gothic, there is none that exhibits so much extravagance and utter dereliction of the principles of the style. Thus the natural pier of the style is the channelled pier with continuous mouldings, shafts being attached or not. This occurs in all its glory in the matchless nave of St. Ouen's, the nearest approach to an ideal Gothic that Christendom has ever seen ; yet it is continually forsaken, even in that very church, for the most preposterous perversions, such as pillars circular or otherwise, with the mouldings¹ dying into them, without so much as a capital to conceal the discrepancy ; being what is most truly called a *discontinuous* impost. The mouldings too are perhaps the worst of any style of Gothic ; they exhibit extravagant hollows combined with extravagantly thin and projecting members ; and in short have no character or meaning whatever.

The rich buildings of this style, fascinating even among its wildest corruptions, affect a more than Arabian gorgeousness. Every inch is covered with tracery of the richest kind ; every pointed canopy, a feature in which the style delights, is loaded with crockets, distant, but large and elaborate ; every arch drips with foliations hanging free like lacework. The Alhambra itself does not surpass the gorgeous web of ornament spread over the west front of the Cathedral at Troyes. Yet, sometimes, as may

¹ "The prevailing vice of these two styles [the late Gothic of France and Germany] is the excessive use of interpenetration amongst the mouldings : no moulding is allowed to stop or rest firmly upon a surface, but must always appear to pierce it, and, if possible, to make its appearance on the other side. The German and French have two different modes even of using this method, so destructive of all apparent stability, and of which some insignificant traces may be found in our own country. * * * The German * * stump tracery * * * [see below, p. 399] is one branch of

this practice ; the Discontinuous Impost is another. This in England consists in little more than the addition of a few mouldings to the arch of a plain archway, without disturbing the course of the original lines, and therefore without breaking the connections between the arch and its piers ; in Germany and France, on the contrary, the lines of the pier are always studiously interrupted, * * * and the arches appear ready to slip down the sides of the pier, having nothing to rest on or unite them with it."—Willis's Remarks, p. 155.

be also observed of some examples of the German Geometrical, gorgeousness and baldness are united in the same design. Such is the case with the west front of St. Martin's at Pont à Mousson ; two towers of noble outline, with the upper stage octagonal, project in front of the nave, and their lower stages are bare even to meanness.

The windows and doorways of the best churches are usually simple-pointed ; the very flat and elliptical arches, sometimes called Burgundian, are characteristic of the style, but are generally a sign of late date, and are more frequently met with in domestic than in ecclesiastical edifices. The doorways retain the same general outline as those of the preceding style, and consequently differ widely from those of the English Perpendicular. Beauvais Cathedral exhibits them on the most magnificent scale of size and gorgeousness.

The rose window is a most favourite ornament ; in many cases however, the circular figure is but a part of the design, being set under a pointed arch, and having tracery below it. It is in this feature that the first approaches of this style make their appearance ; rose windows often manifesting a tendency to Flamboyance in churches whose general character is Geometrical.

As in our own Perpendicular, the spire becomes less necessary, though the genuine embattled and pinnaced tower seems hardly ever to have been naturalized out of England. One of the most English towers is at the west end of the ruined Abbey of St. Bertin, at St. Omer. The noblest form of the Flamboyant is the octagonal lantern, as in the splendid examples at Rouen, both in the Cathedral and the inimitable St. Ouen's. Both Perpendicular and Flamboyant delight in octagonal turrets, and in both they are sometimes topped with small cupolas, as at King's Chapel and St. Ouen's, though the details of the two are very different. In France they are sometimes round, as in the transepts of Beauvais and Senlis.

Within, one may remark the frequent retention of the triforium, in the same subordination to the clerestory as in the French Early Gothic. As it never assumed the same prominence as in the Early Gothic of England, it was not so utterly abolished in its later forms. Vaulting sometimes preserves, as at St. Ouen's, a degree of simplicity, which in England had

vanished much earlier : but the same tendency to increased complexity and ornament was at work, and very intricate vaults are common. Several forms are enumerated by Professor Willis, but he seems to imply that pure fan-tracery, by far the best and in every way most satisfactory form of intricate vaulting, does not occur among them.

The Flamboyant never seems to have had the same fixedness as other styles ; it ran wild in quest of ornament, and adopted it wherever it could be found, whether appropriate or not. It frequently reverts to Geometrical forms, and even to plain lancets. On the other hand, it often Italianizes, and introduces forms alien to the true Gothic, even when it cannot be called actual Renaissance or cinque-cento. And even when later additions in that style, or even one of confirmed Italian character are made, they do not seem so utterly incongruous as elsewhere. The splendid octagon of Bayeux Cathedral finishes not unnaturally in its cupola, and that of Troyes has a north-west tower in cinque-cento, evidently intended to harmonize with the rest of the front, and which does not altogether fail. All these circumstances are remarkable, and show most plainly that "*corruptio optimi est pessima* : " no other style has the capabilities of Flamboyant, no other has so grievously abused them ; it has on the one hand reared the very noblest temple of our faith, on the other it has run into all the perverse extravagances of an exuberant and undisciplined fancy.

Truly the Abbey of St. Ouen may claim the first place among all the edifices that human skill has ever reared. What the portico of Peterborough is among single portions, this glorious pile is among whole churches. Yet while the portico stands perfectly alone, with no rival before or after, a church, if it retain the old Catholic forms, cannot be so totally unique, it can be but the most perfect carrying out of what has often previously been attempted. And such indeed is this peerless church ; without, it combines the vast height so conspicuous in French churches with the more majestic outline of the English ; the cross form nobly developed, no dimension stunted, and all circling round, what Amiens, and Cologne, and Freyburg cannot boast, the true predominant central tower, and that one mass of superb tracery, and crowned with the lovely lantern. Within,

it is the very triumph of verticality; the long array of continuous lines is not inferior to Winchester, while in height and lightness it of course far exceeds it. The choir has Geometrical windows, and is altogether Early Gothic, but its internal lines harmonize completely with the later work. It dates from 1318 to 1339. The transept was commenced in 1400 and completed in 1439; the nave took from 1464 to 1515; and its front is not finished yet, the diagonal western towers never having been erected; one can hardly judge of the effect which their curious position would have had upon the whole design.¹ Dr. Whewell mentions numerous adaptations in detail to the earlier part; the general proportions are identical; the nave retains the same subordinate triforium, and with Geometrical tracery between the strong vertical mullions of its panelling. Still nothing is introduced at all inconsistent with the style, or which derogates from its claim to be the noblest of Gothic churches, and consequently of all human creations.

Other magnificent examples abound in France. The model front is doubtless Abbeville; the doorways and west window are grand, and the whole most richly panelled, though without the almost painful gorgeousness of Troyes. The height is prodigious; the towers though very lofty, scarcely reach above the gable. This façade seems exactly to balance Amiens; I must think it surpasses it.

The Late Gothic of Germany also displays many signs of debasement as well as that of France; the strange vagaries of its tracery are most astonishing. The examples given by Professor Willis of "stump tracery," where different bars intersect one another, and come to nothing, and the other utterly meaningless forms, some without any idea whatever, others simply reproducing Geometrical shapes utterly corrupted, should really make us thankful for the introduction of the Perpendicular line into our national style, which, as Mr. Petit² says, "saved the English Gothic from debasement." And this ineffectual search after beauty by ransacking nature and art for every kind of fantastic shape is shown in every other feature of this architecture. "To a severe regularity of forms succeeded arbitrary petty decorations; and whereas the best examples of the thirteenth cen-

¹ Petit, I. 189.

² I. 207.

ture are ornamented with fruits and flowers, the edifices of the fifteenth century were themselves frequently in the form of plants, a freak which seems to overstep the bounds of architecture. This style of building, having outlived its prosperity, was the more easily superseded in the sixteenth century by a more modern Italian style."¹

This fantastic style of building is nowhere more conspicuous than in the towers of this style, gorgeous as they are. For instance, the noble outline of the real spire, boldly showing its pyramidal outline, as in the most perfect of all steeples, that of Freyburg, is deserted for a combination of unmeaning turrets and pinnacles, masking its real form, and giving the structure rather the air of a number of towers piled one upon another, than of a real spire. It is a square at the base, and comes to a point at the top, but one hardly knows how or why. This form is preferred by Mr. Hope,² because the spires "seem, from the very foundation of the building, to have been considered as integral parts of the design, to grow out of the very base, and to begin that pyramidizing which is only to end at their highest apex." Yet the steeples of Cologne, of Freyburg, Sarum, and St. Mary's at Oxford, in the exquisite manner in which the base of the spire is treated, show that real skill can combine the square tower and the pyramidal spire into one harmonious whole, without in the least diminishing or masking the simple and noble effect of the latter in its native form.

Many of these towers occur both in Germany and the Netherlands; in many cases they are left unfinished. Thus Frankfort Cathedral has its great western tower at present crowned with a cupola, but it appears from the original design preserved by Möller to have been intended for a sort of flying spire hardly less unpleasing. Ulm, Ratisbon, and others were never finished, and at Antwerp and Strasburg, we have only one of an intended pair. The two last may well be compared together; but the difference is very apparent. Strasburg has, just at the top, a real spire, though strangely disguised, Antwerp has positively none; an octagon is set on a square, and itself supports a composition of open tracery and flying buttresses which does not even pretend to the pyramidal shape.

¹ Möller, p. 30.

² Page 405.

The German Flamboyant has the same characteristics as the French with regard to the interpenetration of mouldings and discontinuous imposts. Some of the finest churches, as Freyburg and St. Sebaldus at Nuremberg, have channelled piers without capitals, with imposts continuous or discontinuous. As in all late Gothic, we find in this German Flamboyant the same tendency to increased decoration in vaulting. Freyburg exemplifies this to a certain extent, but the climax in this respect, as indeed of every other form of complicated internal ornament, is to be found in the magnificent, though certainly somewhat debased, church of St. James at Liege. It is an example of that unpleasant kind of vault, like the choir of Wells, where the distinctions of groins and cells are almost lost, and the multiplied ribs run unmeaningly over the roof, as if nailed or glued to it, being a manifest transition from the old Gothic stone vault to the coved plaister ceiling of later times. This seems to be what Professor Willis calls a *stellar vault*; of which kind he observes that "vaults on this principle are commonly to be met with in the German churches. I suspect most of them," he continues, "are of wood and plaister, and in many of them the ribs are only surface ribs laid on to a waggon vault with Welsh vaulting-cells, exhibiting examples of very simple vaults converted by surface ribs into very intricate ones."¹ This produces in the vaulting of the apse of St. James, an effect something like a wooden roof; thus there are projections having the general appearance of hammer-beams, and with the characteristic angels. This apse with its low arches, like those of tombs, leading to the surrounding chapels, and its lofty transomed windows, is very fine, as indeed is the whole church, though deficient in height; the pillars and vaulting-shafts have capitals, the former somewhat resembling our Perpendicular arrangements. The pier-arches have each order foliated, or rather fringed with lace-work; the effect is very rich, but I must think the ornament out of place in that position.

Certainly when we compare these edifices with our own contemporary ones, we can have but little hesitation in esteeming England to have been, during the fifteenth century at least, the

¹ Remarks, p. 84.

chosen abode of Christian art. If we have nothing to compare to that one matchless pile of St. Ouen's, to which York and Winchester and Canterbury alike must yield; if we have nothing like the stately transept of Beauvais, or the almost painful magnificence of Troyes; if we miss the rose window from our fronts, and the glorious apse has not returned to our altars; still our Perpendicular possesses a general vigour and harmony to which the contemporary foreign styles cannot pretend. If the best Flamboyant surpasses the best Perpendicular, still even the worst Perpendicular that has any right to the name is far preferable to some specimens of the French, and still more the German, style. Our buildings never run into the same senseless extravagance, where nothing but mere excess of ornament is left to supply the place of real art. The simple principle on which Perpendicular panelling and tracery is composed at once precludes the wild forms, not a whit more Continuous than Geometrical, for which the Flamboyant so often forsook its simple and noble beauty. In our mouldings interpenetration, that absurd display of useless labour, but seldom occurs, and a discontinuous impost¹ is hardly to be found in any prominent position. And England produced that most glorious creation, the square embattled tower, which in its purity is almost confined to our own country. Continuing the use of the spire in all the beauty of Louth and Coventry and Rushden, we added another form, the most majestic of all. And further, our style might, without forsaking its principles, adopt whatever is most attractive in the foreign forms. We might freely transplant those magnificent portals to which most certainly Perpendicular, even less than any other style, can oppose no rivals; and the rose window, so glorious at Lincoln, might be the chief, instead of the subordinate ornament of future Minsters. For such we trust the England of Saints may yet rear; temples that may surpass St. Ouen's itself, where the height of Amiens and the richness of Beauvais may be linked to the more harmonious

¹ The most striking instance I know is in the nave of Dursley Church, Gloucestershire; the chamfers of the arches, which are segmental, die into a regular octagonal

stilt placed above the capitals, which, with the pillars, are of the same form; the effect is anything but good.

wholes, the more faultless outlines, which grace the vale of Lichfield and the height where the church of St. Hugh still soars in triumph; fit emblem of the spiritual temple, that city set on a hill which cannot be hid.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE GOTHIC OF SOUTHERN EUROPE.

WE have hitherto been considering Gothic architecture as practised among those nations where it was really native; where, if it was not actually invented by all of them, or produced in all alike by spontaneous and simultaneous development, it at least took root in each soil with equal firmness, and in all bore fruit of such extraordinary merit, that it is almost a vain question to discover in which it made the nearest actual approaches to an ideal perfection. In England, France, and Germany, to whichever of the three the actual invention may be due, Gothic architecture was equally at home; in all it was thoroughly native, it expressed both national and religious feelings, and answered the requirements of a northern climate. Each exhibited its own peculiarities; Germany, by a process at once slow and rapid, passed almost at once from perfect Romanesque to perfect Gothic. France dazzles by the most stupendous designs, and often leaves them unfinished; similarly the actual development of the style is swift, brilliant, and superficial. England, with less of gigantic grandeur in particular buildings, and less of rapid development in styles, gives to all a harmony and purity which is peculiarly her own, and in the course of her slower progress, calls forth forms of beauty unknown to other lands. Yet in all it is the same style, founded on the same principles, and in all pure and native, without any foreign admixture; nowhere is it an imitation or an exotic.

In southern Europe the case was very different; neither in Spain nor in Italy was Gothic a native style, called forth by the genius of the country and nation. In both it partakes more or less of an imitative character, and never approaches the full per-

fection of more northern lands. And in Italy, as further removed in blood and feeling from the Teutonic stock, the case is more conspicuous than in Spain; Spanish Gothic, though containing incongruous elements, has attained more excellence as a style, and produced finer edifices than that of Italy.

Italy, though overrun by Teutonic tribes, never became Teutonic. She indeed beheld Gothic Kings at Ravenna, and Lombards at Pavia, and saw the line of her old Cæsars restored in the person of the Frank Charlemagne. Yet the full system of Teutonic civilization never took root; the influence, one might almost say the magic power, of Rome, fallen as it was, always remained too great for the "barbarian" element to obtain more than the barest political supremacy. The shadow of ancient glory still haunted the scenes where the old Roman had been dominant; in art and literature the classic element was never discarded, as it hardly could be while nobles of Teutonic blood passed by their real descent from Gothic and Lombard heroes to rejoice in a fabled pedigree tracing them up to some fallen patrician house of the elder day.

In such a land, where the old system was still looked back upon as something of which it was unjustly deprived, and where the national feeling occasionally burst forth in a Consulate or Tribunate, unreal indeed and almost ludicrous, but still showing the national feeling; where the language, after all the infusion of Teutonic elements, still remained essentially Roman; where art and literature still clung to the imitation of the models which Roman power had left; it could not be expected that the glorious offspring of the North, the fruit of Teutonic genius, the language of the Teutonic soul, should ever become thoroughly dominant. It ever remained an exotic, introduced by German influence, and chiefly in buildings in which German architects had a greater or less share. It ever remained a feeble imitation, copying a few Gothic forms, without realizing their spirit; it was never pure; classical ideas, classical forms, perpetually recur, so that it is hard to say how much has been merely retained all along, and how much is the direct offspring of a formal *Renaissance*.

Even Italian churches erected by French or German architects, such as St. Andrew at Vercelli, St. Francis at Assisi, and

the great Cathedral at Milan, have caught somewhat of the taint of the country, and are very different from what we may suppose they would themselves have erected on this side of the Alps. Not that for this they lay open to any reasonable blame; Italian tastes, Italian prejudices, the very necessities of the climate, may have constrained them to depart from the purity of the style; it may be that a complication of causes of this nature must for ever prevent a pure Gothic church from being built in Italy; certain it is that such an one has never yet been seen. So far as it is Italian it is not Gothic; so far as it is Gothic it is not Italian.

Of the three churches just mentioned, St. Andrew at Vercelli was the first in Italy in which anything like Gothic architecture was attempted. It was erected in 1219 as the church of a monastery founded by Cardinal Guala, who had been Papal Legate in France and *England*,¹ and who brought back with him one Thomas, a native of Paris, whom he made the first Abbot, and who was architect of the church. Here we have a direct foreign influence. Yet Mr. Knight's description will show how little of good French architecture Abbot Thomas was able to introduce. "San Andrea," he observes, "is far from pure. In parts of the exterior, perhaps from compliance with the habits of the native masons, round forms are repeated. The façade itself is Romanesque; but the interior² of the church presents the exact appearance of a French or English building in the Early Pointed style. The arches are pointed. Light pillars, with foliage capitals, run up

¹ To this fact we may attribute the circumstance that the church is without an apse.

² From Mr. Knight's engraving I should take a much less favourable view of this interior; the clustering of the pillars seems very awkward, the abaci are square, or rather something between square and octagonal, the foliage hardly Gothic; and there is a general lack of mouldings. The triforium-range is nothing but a blank space; the lantern-arches are not distinguish-

able from those of the vaulting; and the composition at the east end, an equal triplet with a rose above, does not sufficiently fill up the space. Still, with all these defects, the general effect is good; and Mr. Webb (*Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 404) testifies to much better detail in some points than the engraving displays. The outline, with two western towers, a central octagon, and "a massy one south-east of the south transept," seems to belong to the German Romanesque.

to support the roof ; the roof is vaulted and groined ; the windows in the chancel are lancet. If, however, we behold in San Andrea the earliest introduction of the Pointed style on the south side of the Alps, yet it had no effect upon the habitual style of the country. No change followed its appearance. It was situated in a remote corner.¹ It was considered as the insulated whim of a travelled man. Vercelli possessed no school of architects and sculptors, who might have carried the new fashion into other districts. It is to another example that we must look for the real origin of a change of style in Italy ; an example which will show that the change of style in Italy proceeded from Germany."

This is no other than the famous double church of St. Francis at Assisi, built by Jacobus, a German architect, in 1229, the year after the canonization of the great founder of the Mendicant orders, for the express purpose of receiving his relics. Mr. Knight speaks of it as one in which "the Pointed style appears complete in all its parts ;" but his own engravings exhibit flat soffits, square abaci, Corinthian capitals, and such like foreign elements, and the view of the exterior in the "Moyen Age Pittoresque" displays a Lombard campanile, and a flat, heavy, utterly un-Gothic façade. The best feature is the very elegant early Geometrical tracery in the windows.

When we turn from these works of foreigners to the buildings erected by Italians in their pointed style, we shall see a still further departure from the pure forms of the north. "Where Italians," says Mr. Hope, "were the architects, the rounded archways maintained their ground, and obtained intermixture with the pointed. In the palace called of the Lombard Kings at Pavia ; in the Palazzo Publico at Piacenza ; and at Como, and in many other edifices, the round arches rise above, or intervene between the pointed ones, so as to show themselves contemporaneous, or younger ; and most of the Italian cathedrals, vaunted as fine examples of the pointed style, wholly want its essential characteristics. They show not the higher, as in Germany and France, insensibly growing out of, and intimately connected with, the lower parts. The celebrated Churches of Monza, Sienna,

¹ "Vercelli is in Piedmont, at about an equal distance from Turin and Milan."

Orvieto, and Spoleto, offer a mere jumble, which displeases through the inconsistency of the forms, while it dazzles through the richness of the materials; the white and various coloured marbles mixed with mosaics, with bronze, with painting, and with gilding. The square parts are awkwardly inserted, and the pointed gables are mere screens, which have no connection either with the front or with the roof. A fine pointed steeple is nowhere beheld in Italy; and even in the Italian churches, most decidedly in this fashion, so rarely are pillars not round, but angular, and formed of clustered shafts, that they appear in no place, even in the more numerous pointed churches of Milan and Venice; and that the only exceptions I remember are in the dome of Verona, the church of St. Anthony at Padua, and that of St. Petronius at Bologna.

“Indeed we hardly see Italian architects adopt the Pointed style, before they again revert to the round, even previous to the revival of the antique; witness at Milan, the tower of the small church of St. Gothard, built in 1836, entirely woven over with small columns, some supported by its body, others projecting on brackets, all crowned by round-headed arches; and, what was esteemed a marvel in its day, at Florence, the Loggia di Lanzi, built by Andrea Orcagna, in 1355, whose immense round-headed arches were deemed at the time a most happy suggestion; and at Como, the new dome, which was built so late as 1396, has round-headed porches; and whatever churches, or other monuments are found in the north and central parts of Italy, are all, as we have before remarked, not only in what is called the *stile Tedesco*, but actually, as far as can be ascertained, built by German architects; witness the dome of Milan, the Church of St. Francis at Assisi, and the ciboria of old St. Peter, and of St. Paul, at Rome.”¹

In no one respect does the Italian Gothic exhibit any attention to the leading and necessary features of the style. Take an exterior view: in the first place you find no outline, or not a Gothic one; hardly anywhere does Italy exhibit a church of which every part gathers around the magnificent central tower, soaring pyramidally above its subordinate western ones. The utmost that may be hoped for is a central dome, a feature noble indeed in itself,

¹ Hope, pp. 459—61.

but altogether inconsistent with the type of a Gothic church. Nor yet do the fronts exhibit the sublime outline of the nave gable between its supporting steeples, or even the less magnificent, but still always satisfactory composition of the same gable rising above the terminations of the aisles. All that we have is the old Lombard type, with its character quite lost by the incongruous intermixture of the pointed arches. One low, dull, heavy gable comprises all the aisles, perhaps just sufficiently broken, as at Monza, to render its ugliness more conspicuous; or perhaps a goodly show is made, as at Sienna and Orvieto, by three lofty gables, which you might fancy finished a nave with aisles of equal height, but a view from the east dispels the illusion; they are the genuine street front of the modern Early English. No bold projecting buttress breaks the flatness of the façade, which nothing but the most lavish display of ornament can hinder from being absolutely ugly. Windows, filled indeed with tracery, but almost as often round-headed as pointed, peep through the wall without any particular reason for their position, or any reference to the unity of the whole. Gigantic doorways, sometimes not masking their Roman origin, but retaining the whole apparatus of a Lombard portal, sometimes deigning to assume a pointed head, but otherwise not departing from the character of the preceding style, are rendered more palpably out of place by the addition of pointed canopies. Nor is the matter mended when an attempt is made to gain something of Gothic character by loading a design in another style, or no style at all, with all the Gothic frippery that unappreciating imitators could devise. Such is the portentous structure called St. Mary della Spina at Pisa,¹ crowded with open canopies containing statues, such canopies being, like ciboria, supported on pillars, and even these, which are meant to be excessively Gothic, twisted and curled, and finished with capitals altogether unlike any northern examples. Below all these are round-headed windows, a kind of triplet with the self-same twisted pillars acting as mullions. In short the classical element obtrudes itself at every step, unless indeed it is the Pointed which is to be considered the intruder;

¹ "The fault of the exterior is a number of false gables and pediments, which could not possibly be real. They mask in a delusive way one of the simplest of roofs." Webb, p. 363.

for in such a confusion of contrary elements it is difficult to say which is predominant. At Venice the style is perhaps a little better than elsewhere; the apse of Santa Maria Gloriosa has caught a little of the Gothic spirit in its tall narrow compartments and lofty windows, strange as is their tracery: it only wants buttresses and a high roof to rank as a third-rate Gothic design. The Duomo at Asti has an apse of still better character, especially as it has a nearer approach to projecting buttresses; the height is very great, and the tall lancets have a fine effect, but seem to want shafts.

Nor do the interiors present any improvement upon the external features; there is the same confusion in point of style, the same want of harmony in design. Instead of the tall narrow compartments of the true Gothic, we find only arches of¹ excessively wide span, often without a pretence at moulding, and usually of one order only; and these springing from piers of every strange form, clusters with Corinthian capitals, as in the boasted² Cathedral of Sienna, or such indescribable vagaries as those given in Professor Willis' plates from St. Petronius at Bologna. Then above these is a space, without horizontal divisions, or with a quasi-classical cornice, as at Sienna; usually without a triforium, and with no clerestory as a genuine architectural member, often merely a circular aperture in the vaulting-space.

The secular buildings of Italy are very numerous and important. As in the free cities of the north, the liberal public spirit of the countless republics into which the country was divided adorned every town with a Town-Hall of the best architecture they could produce; and as in such structures Gothic architecture has not, even under the best circumstances, the same scope as in churches for its highest developments, the loss of the nobler

¹ This characteristic and its bad effects are most ably drawn out by Professor Willis, Remarks, p. 130—33. He gives a calculation of four cathedrals, Florence, Bologna, Ulm, and Amiens, of which the result is "that, with equal dimensions in every other point, the Italian cathedrals have pier-arches of three times the span of the Ger-

man and French examples, and yet these magnificent pier-arches are entirely destructive of the effect of the whole as a Gothic composition."

² This church has in its centre an *hexagonal* dome, a form involving the strangest crossings and twistings of arches imaginable. The lower stage of this dome within has a regular colonnade and entablature.

forms of the art is not so acutely felt as where there was more reason to expect their presence. And more than this, the Saracenic influence, which was before hinted at as having a great, though undefined, share in the formation of the Italian Gothic, is more conspicuous in these and other secular buildings than in the churches. And though the Arabian style is itself far from a good one, it has sufficient merit to render an approximation to it a source of improvement in one so thoroughly debased as the Italian Gothic. This is especially perceptible in Venice; many of the strange, and rich, and wildly beautiful forms of architecture exhibited in the elder buildings of that wonderful city have a manifest savour of that orientalism to which, whether Byzantine or Arabian, we owe the glorious cathedral of St. Mark. There is the same love of fantastically rich forms, of ogee and multifoil arches, and there is a general oriental *character* about the style, which is of more importance than detail. One might almost expect to see a bearded and turbaned caliph appear on the hanging balconies of the Foscari palace, or the wild, grotesque, yet inexpressibly grand, dwelling-place of the Doges. The low pillars, which might almost have served for a Norman crypt, supporting pointed arches, and above, that marvellous gallery, with its small pillars and gigantic quasi-reticulated tracery; all manifest, if not purity of taste, at least richness of fancy, which is more than can be said of the simple bungling of some of the grandest Italian churches.

The hand of the Saracen is also traced, with every probability, by Mr. Knight, in the forked battlements, so thoroughly Arabian, and the fretted arches of the Palazzo Publico at Sienna. No less oriental are the plain pointed arches resting on simple columns with huge abaci almost amounting to a stilt, in the cloister of St. Anthony at Padua, that strange mosque-like church, whose minarets and clustering cupolas at least produce that variety of outline from which the Italian Gothic is commonly debarred.¹

Of other secular erections the Palazzo Publico at Sienna is

¹ While speaking of cloisters, the Campo Santo at Pisa must not be forgotten, a part of that wonderful group of buildings which

enobles the name of that city. Its openings are round-headed with very fair Geometrical tracery from shafts.

one of the noblest, though we lack the tracery and the grand high roofs of the north, and the tall tower, which can only be compared to a machicolated factory-chimney, is a poor substitute for the noble steeples of those cities where commerce and freedom had no less power, and a purer taste in art shed additional lustre over them. The Mercanzia at Bologna is one of the most favourable examples of this corrupt Gothic, its forms being quite in that style, and the detail of great richness, but greatly wanting adequate mouldings.

But the glory of the Italian Gothic, the one structure which it has contributed to the list of great European churches, has been hitherto only the subject of an incidental allusion. I allude of course to the superb Cathedral at Milan, which has drawn forth such enthusiastic admiration from no less tasteful an observer than Mr. Petit, and which, with all its faults, many and grievous as they are, must be allowed a high place among Christian temples. Widely as it differs from the purity of the northern Gothic, no one can refuse assent to the position that "the Cathedral of Milan, whether from its noble dimensions, the precious materials of which it is entirely composed, or the richness of its ornaments, is one of the most splendid temples in Christendom, and without comparison, the most successful building in the Pointed style to the south of the Alps."¹ Yet the balance of probability appears to be in favour of the belief that this magnificent erection is the work of Teutonic and not Italian genius; of the numerous architects employed upon the church between the year 1387, when it was commenced by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, first Duke of Milan, and 1805, when it was brought to a lame and imperfect conclusion under the auspices of Napoleon, those nearest to the time of the foundation were almost all French or German, and to one of the latter, Henry Arler of Gemünden, appears to belong the honour of having given the original designs. After the warning of Mr. Petit,²

¹ Gally Knight.

² "We often say, that an object must be seen to be appreciated; this applies in its fullest extent to the Cathedral of Milan. Not that language is inadequate to its des-

cription; but the more accurately it is described, the less favourable will be the impression on the mind of either architect or artist; whereas, if he visit the building he cannot but be lost in admiration." II, 218.

one can hardly venture to speak with the same certainty of this as of other distant churches ; still it has peculiarities of so remarkable a nature that an historian of architecture cannot altogether pass it by. It is something perfectly unique, and not to be referred to any style ; it cannot be said, in its general lines at least, to retain any vestiges of the classical taint ; it is manifestly superior to the mass of Italian attempts at Gothic, and—to judge from Mr. Petit's and other engravings—as manifestly inferior to the Gothic of the north. Yet it is not to be reckoned as an example of either ; it cannot be called the best specimen of Italian, or the worst of German art ; its merits do not differ in degree, but in kind ; it is a class in itself, it must be judged as such, and enter the field on equal terms with whole bodies of erections in other styles. It is then manifestly a structure which can only owe its origin to genius of the very highest order ; whether that genius was one guided by the laws of pure taste and the principles of art, is altogether another question. The exterior I cannot admire ; both Mr. Petit's rough but spirited wood-cut and Mr. Knight's tamer, though more elaborate, lithograph, represent it as utterly destitute of outline, a mere congeries of pinnacles and statues, crowned by one pinnacle and one statue greater than the rest. But the great fault is the low clerestory combined with the flat roof ; the latter is tolerable in connection with the tall clerestory, the former when surmounted by a high-pitched roof ; but if the clerestory be low and the roof flat, no source of elevation is left. The buttresses¹ are massive, and yet have no bold projection, and the pinnacles are also heavy ; their statues are an idea so purely Italian, that it will not do to criticize them from this side the Alps. They are, I imagine, on such a scale, and to such an extent, unique in any building professedly Gothic, for in the most analogous example with which I am acquainted, that most exquisite and lovely retrochoir at Peterborough, the statues are not thus perched on pinnacles, as they are in one or two smaller instances, such as the tower of Highworth church. The windows

¹ "The aisle-buttresses are deep and massive, *without slopes*."—Petit, I. 203. Here is the fault ; such a buttress, if it projected me-

chanically further than those in the front of York, would have no artistic projection at all.

do not seem to be harmoniously inserted, or to have any connection with the panelling ; one hardly dares criticize their tracery, a mixture of Geometrical and Flamboyant. But the lantern, whether beautiful or not, is certainly wonderful ; it stands by itself, and is equally unlike Canterbury, Sarum, Ely, Mayence, or Florence ; it is neither tower, spire, nor cupola ; a gigantic turret and spire—a single vast central pinnacle—is carried up from the midst of a low octagon. Of the west front, the atrocious barbarisms of Pellegrini, and the worse barbarism of those who retained it at the last repair, one need not speak ; they are no part of the conception of Arler, and are utterly foreign to that one glorious whole, the Duomo of Milan.

But, if the exterior be wonderful, the internal prospect is yet more so, and has much fairer claims to be considered beautiful. Marvellous indeed are those gigantic columns—really fair Gothic clusters,—with that wonderful band of niched statues above the capitals ; they cannot be fairly censured as cutting off the arch from its pier, like an Italian entablature or an Arabian stilt ; they are themselves the real capitals, and a noble form of capital they are. The fault, if there be any, is not in the pillars, but in the insignificant shallowness of the arches themselves, and the poor clerestory, without even a string between it and the arcade. Would not the effect have been yet more sublime, if there had been no clerestory at all, and the glorious columns had reached the full height of the building, as at Marburg ? But the present vaulting-shafts are not to be regretted, as affording the consolatory presence of a round abacus in Italy. The least satisfactory part seems to be the cupola, which should surely have been supported by piers better distinguished from those of the nave ; and it would have been nobler, had it been octagonal from the base, like Florence or Ely.

I have scarcely mentioned Campaniles, as during the whole period of the Italian Gothic they for the most part deviate scarcely at all from the previous Lombard type. They almost always retain the old form and proportions, so that the occasional introduction of a pointed arch makes but little difference. Giotto's tower at Florence, fit companion for the matchless dome, is a noble exception ; its outline with the corner turrets is very fine, but it is unfinished, the intended spire having never been

added. The details are of course mixed and impure, but are at least as good Gothic as any in Italy.

Turn we now to the other southern frontier of the Western Church, where every temple is a trophy of Christian victory, and where the whole life of the nation was for seven ages one continued crusade against the infidel. The Christian architecture of Spain is Gothic in the literal and national sense, yet there is no reason to suppose that Teutonic art was there of native birth. The Goths of Spain, as their language shows to this day, must have been almost as completely Romanized as Italians or Provençals; it is to their long struggles with heathen invaders, which made every Christian a noble, and every Spaniard a brother, that we owe the lofty points of the old Castilian character, that noble development of Christian chivalry. But on the other hand, this continued Christian warfare, while it drew forth so much that is admirable, could hardly fail to impede any native development in the arts. The Arabs in Spain were for a long time unquestionably the intellectual superiors of the native Goths; and in architecture, if they had wandered far away from pure taste, they had at least produced much that was striking both from its originality and its magnificence. In a land which had beheld the Alhambra and the Mosque of Cordova, the architecture of those wonderful piles could hardly fail to have a very deep and lasting effect upon the future taste of the nation. And the Arabian taste would more naturally mingle itself with the Gothic architecture afterwards introduced, from there being no real discrepancy between the two. No feature of the northern style was at variance with the principles, or rather want of principles, which marked the architecture of the Saracens. Hence we find Spanish architecture coming far nearer to the true Teutonic model than that of Italy; many of the finest buildings of Spain, including the stupendous Cathedral of Seville, were indeed the work of foreigners, but they did not, as in Italy, lose their powers from some pernicious influence of the soil; they imported the grand idea of a Gothic temple whole and undefiled, though in its carrying out it was marred by the continual introduction of fantastic forms borrowed from an Arabian source. Still it was not, like Italian Gothic, a mere pointing of a body really in another style or no style at all; it is

genuine Gothic, though only imitative. Its imitative character is shown by the fact that it does not appear to have gone through the same transmutations and developments as in those countries where it was native. Features of the Early Gothic will be found repeated at a very late date, intermixed with those more characteristic of the time. This may be seen very conspicuously in the celebrated leaning tower at Saragoza, erected about 1594, but exhibiting in its architecture a sort of Lancet style, intermingled with Arabian notions. It is a tall octagonal steeple, a form apparently very usual in Spain.

Such a front as that of the Cathedral at Burgos at once proves the infinite superiority of Spanish over Italian Gothic. We have seen that no strictly Italian church presents the true Gothic outline; we have no grouping of steeples, no west fronts of any merit, no glorious central towers like Canterbury and St. Ouen's. But this Spanish church of the thirteenth¹ century has a front which would do honour to any city of Germany or England. Two noble towers, with bold niched buttresses and pinnacles, support magnificent spires of open work; they are not lofty, and rise from the middle of the towers, which have open parapets, like our later English spires. The general architecture of the front is decidedly Early Gothic, with lancet arches, couplets, and a noble rose window with Geometrical tracery; but I cannot help suspecting that the spires are of later date. Of the towers, the belfry-stage only is free, though they rise two stories above the flat roof; one stage being filled by a solid screen, a piece of pretence highly censurable, but not more so than similar examples at Sarum, Lincoln, Paris, and, what is a nearer analogy, Strasburg, and far less so than the sham gables of Sienna and Orvieto. Besides its unreality, its absence would have brought out the beautiful towers with much finer effect, and have greatly improved the general outline of the front.

The immense Cathedral of Toledo, said to have been commenced about 1227, has all the features of a true Gothic Minster; its interior presenting arcade, triforium, and clerestory, of tolerable, though not the very best proportions, together with clustered pillars and vaulting-shafts. The triforium and clere-

¹ It was built in 1221, by Don Ferdinand III. Hope.

story exhibit only the rudiments of tracery, and most of the shafts have the square abacus. The front is irregular and incomplete, with a grand portal ; one tower only is finished, and is of great height and richness, with an octagon and low spire ; the other, which contains a chapel, has an immense square base, and then becomes octagonal, with pointed windows, up to about the height of the church, but at that point it has received the fatal extinguisher of an Italian cupola. The Chapel of St. James in this Cathedral is a superb example of Flamboyant, not unmixed with Saracenic ; interpenetration, gorgeous panelling, and tall fretted arches, produce a rich, though fantastic whole.

The world-famous church of Seville, built between 1401 and 1506, at sacrifices on the part of its chapter which have been lately¹ held up to the English Church as an example for imitation as well as admiration, is Flamboyant, and of very great size ; but I am not acquainted with its details beyond a noble doorway, with a tympanum beautifully sculptured with a representation of our LORD's entry into Jerusalem. The church has many cinque-cento additions, and has no tower, but the Giralda. The peculiar arrangement of the Spanish Church which places the choir in the constructive nave, renders the eastern limb, as being merely the presbytery,² very short. The roof, as in most Spanish buildings, is flat. This latter circumstance is painfully shown in the front of Santa Maria del Mare at Barcelona, which has two lofty octagonal turrets, and some good features, especially a rose-window. The Cathedral of Valencia has a fine, but apparently unfinished, central tower of octagonal form, with Geometrical tracery. The cloisters of St. Domingo in the same city, have tracery which, though exhibiting some peculiarities, must be called Geometrical ; the mullions are slender shafts with square abaci ; with somewhat of an Arabian character. It is however attributed to so late a date as the sixteenth century.

The Arabian intermixture is mostly seen in the smaller details, though sometimes whole features on a large scale retain manifest traces of the heathen influence. Thus the Audien-

¹ In Mr. R. B. Phillipps' Letter to the Landowners of the Diocese of Hereford.

² See Neale's Hierologus, p. 266.

cia Real at Barcelona, a structure of the fifteenth century, has a pointed arcade resting on wonderfully slight columns, with heavy abaci or stilts. Above, in total contrast, is a range of the flat arches of the French Flamboyant, a form which seems to have been early introduced into Spain, and to have attained great prevalence. Though not actually an Arabian feature, it is quite in harmony with the fantastic character of that style. The fretting of arches is a feature derived from the Arabs to every form of Gothic architecture, still in Spain one can hardly fail to attribute it to a more direct Saracenic influence than elsewhere. It may be seen in the beautiful Early cloisters of the Cathedral of Barcelona, and in the rich, yet simple, Flamboyant ones at Segovia. The like fantastic taste, though here it has hit upon a much less elegant form, appears in the pillars of the Silk Hall at Valencia, which have flat spiral bands with bases twisted round them, and going off into the ribs of the vaulting. In the cloisters of St. Paul at Barcelona, coupled columns on a large scale support trefoil and cinquefoil arches, savouring strongly of the Saracenic taste.

For Arabian influence in smaller details, we may mention the tower of St. Mark at Seville, figured in the *Moyen Age Monumental*, and there defined as "*Architecture Mauresque et Ogivale*" of the fourteenth century. It is indeed difficult to say which is "*Mauresque*" and which "*Ogivale*." The tower is thoroughly Arabian, with many fretted arches in square panels, and tracery similar to that on the Giralda. But exactly the same sort of tracery occurs in close connection with the door, which is decidedly Early Gothic, and has an ornament much resembling tooth-moulding.¹ The retention of the square abacus is so common elsewhere that it is uncertain to trust to it, but under the peculiar circumstances of Spanish architecture, we may not unfairly consider this also, especially as it so often occurs in a very heavy shape, almost like the genuine Arabian stilt, as another example of the enduring influence of Saracenic forms.

But still closer approximations may be found, as appears from two plates of details in the *Moyen Age Monumental*, in the

¹ Something of the same sort is mentioned by Mr. Neale, (*Hierologus*, p. 271,) as occurring at St. Michael in the same city, of the date 1304.

house of Ablala at Valencia, and St. Denis at Xeres, both of the fifteenth century. The details of the latter are essentially Arabian, with the characteristic fretwork on the wall, the cinquefoil, and even the actual pointed horse-shoe arch. The former has a window of three trefoil arches of most fantastic shape, resting on shafts almost ludicrously slender, and with abaci as disproportionably heavy. This affectation of insufficient support will be remembered as one of the chief disfigurements of the Alhambra and other Arabian structures.

But the most curious fact of all is that the *renaissance* in Spain appears to have assumed, to a certain extent, the character of a closer return to Saracenic forms. This appears conspicuously in several instances both ecclesiastical and civil. The Casa de Ninos has very slender columns, meant for Ionic, but attenuated far beyond Corinthian proportions, supporting round arches of enormous width, which manifest the same bad taste as the window just mentioned. But this strange mixture, this leaguings of Mahomet and Apollo, to say nothing of Termagaunt, to destroy the purity of Christian art, is most conspicuous in what my French authorities call the "Chapelle Marquise" in the Cathedral of Murcia. Here we have Flamboyant panelling, pinnacles, arabesques, arches of all sorts, both actually multifoil and fretted, round, pointed and elliptical canopies, with the most incredibly large crockets, would-be classical shafts, and columns indescribable. The whole is a wonderful monument of magnificent barbarism. The central octagon of Burgos Cathedral also reveals an Arabian influence in its wide fretted arches without tracery. The Hospital of St. Cross at Toledo, as fine or finer after its own fashion than its namesake at Winchester, was built by the Cardinal-Archbishop Mendoza, between 1504 and 1514. Its front is in an indescribable style, with some fretted round arches; but its general character is cinquecento, and its doorway seems an attempt to translate the old Romanesque portal into that style, and really would not be out of place at Aix or Avignon. It has a tympanum, its round arch is fretted, and rests on shafts and balusters with entablatures, and the whole is loaded with arabesques. It really seems as if that generation were satisfied with anything, provided it were a departure from the style of their forefathers.

In Portugal, the royal monastery of Batalha is universally stated to be the finest Gothic monument, and a noble building it undoubtedly is, and abundantly illustrates the position that Gothic architecture in Spain, although not more native than in Italy, attained nevertheless a far higher degree of perfection. As it has been fully illustrated by Murphy, it may not be out of place to give a fuller description of it, as I have not elsewhere found such an exact account of a Spanish church of the first rank.

This monastery, like many others, owes its origin to a vow made in time of need, having been erected by John the First, King of Portugal, in memory of a victory obtained with very inferior numbers over John, King of Castile, when, in the words of Father Louis de Sousa, the historian of the foundation, "at the time he resolved to give battle, he implored the victory of Him Who alone has the disposal of it, whence He is called the Lord of Hosts. He also invoked the mediation of the Virgin Mary, because the battle was on the eve of her glorious assumption; and made a vow, if he came off victorious, to build a magnificent monastery in honour of her." This he accordingly did, and erected this stately building on the nearest convenient site to the actual scene of the engagement, whence it derives its name of *Batalha*, being an exact parallel to our own Battle Abbey. The establishment was of the Dominican order, and the first charter of foundation was dated in 1388,¹ three years after the victory. Father Louis informs us that the King was "desirous of building a temple and monastery, which should surpass the most stupendous, not only in Spain, but throughout all Christendom," and that "he invited from distant countries the most celebrated architects that could be found, and collected from all parts the most dexterous and skilful stone-cutters," circumstances which seem sufficiently to account for the varied style of the edifice.

The size of the church is considerable, being about 255 feet long, 71 broad across nave and aisles, and 103 feet in internal height, exhibiting a vast preponderance of the latter proportion,

¹ The account is extracted by Murphy from Father Louis' History of the Dominicans, published in 1622.

if a church not very much longer than Romsey has a greater height than Westminster. The good father expresses himself curiously on this head, saying "that the height is such, that an athletic slinger can scarce cast a stone to the vault of the nave." It is cruciform, with the short eastern limb of the Spanish churches, and a nave of eight bays; but no tower, except a mere turret attached to the north transept. It is therefore clearly a building of very great pretensions, and it is essentially Gothic, but altogether unlike any particular stage of the Northern Gothic, and in fact it commingles the features of all its varieties. Of the windows, some are Geometrical, some the wildest Flamboyant, others are so like some forms of our own Flowing, that one is tempted to suppose that among "the distant lands," which contributed architects, England was not excluded. Those in the chapter-house have two planes of tracery, one simple Geometrical, the other of the most extravagant Flamboyancy; on the other hand those in the apse are single lancets. The west front would be handsome, if it had a gable, the top being perfectly flat, with a rich open parapet, which is continued throughout the church; the flying buttresses being set very high require something to carry up their pyramidal lines. The doorway is very large, and though not double, has a sculptured tympanum; the west window is pointed, and completely filled with tracery of rather an English character. Does it own any kindred to the east window of Dorchester? The great doorway in the transept much resembles English Transition, having four shafts, and a trefoiled head with the chevron moulding on some of the orders; the window above is an intersecting skeleton filled up with foliated circles in the head, and thus far might be purely English. Between the mullions it is filled up with Reticulated tracery, being the same idea, though not the same design, which is so often found in the belfry-window of our Perpendicular towers. The interior is certainly very grand, from its vast height and its bold vaulting-shafts rising from the ground; these have a great projection, a notion apparently borrowed from German structures. The pillars are clustered of the very best Early Gothic section, with floriated capitals, but with square bases and abaci. There is no triforium nor string above the arcade; one is however continued from the abaci of

the vaulting-shafts, and cut through by the clerestory windows.

But the greatest interest of Batalha, both in an historical and architectural point of view, is derived from the magnificent tombs of the kings and princes of Portugal. The Mausoleum of the founder, a large chapel containing the tombs of King John, his Queen Philippa, and their four sons, adjoins the south-west side of the church, with which it is connected by an arch with continuous mouldings. The chapel is square, but from its centre rises an octagonal clerestory on eight pillars; this has on the outside flying buttresses and a spire covered with tracery, and presents the general idea of a round church, supposing the quadrature of the circle to have been experimentally proved in such a case. A still greater curiosity is the Mausoleum of King Emmanuel the Great, commenced about 1509, and still unfinished. This, like our own contemporary and analogous, though very different, structure at Westminster, stands to the east of the church, with which it is connected by an oblong loggia. The chapel itself is octagonal, surrounded with smaller apsidal chapels; the architecture is very different from the pure, though mixed Gothic of the church, and is another example of the tendency of the Spanish renaissance to revive Arabian features. Its arches, which rise from piers, are fretted, the ornaments throughout are of a non-descript character, exhibiting shafts with chevron and other surface mouldings, strange arabesque cornices disposed after the manner of a barbaric entablature, pots and vases, and many other incongruous decorations. The doorways especially are perfectly indescribable, consisting of cinquefoil and trefoil arches intersecting one another in the strangest way, and loaded with arabesques. The upper part of the octagon is unfinished, and has neither roof nor windows. The design for its completion, as given by Murphy, includes large Flowing windows, the lower parts of whose apertures only exist, and exhibits the whole surrounded with round turrets with open spires. The windows in the small chapels have similar tracery, but are very tall and narrow, quite of the proportions of lancets. The refectory has simple square windows without tracery of any kind.

I have delayed long on this building, which as a contribution to the history of architecture is of very great value. Not in-

deed on account of its own merits, for though a really fine church, it is neither a good example of any existing style, nor yet does it possess the unique character of Milan; but because it incontestably shows that in 1388 Portugal possessed no national architecture which was thought worthy of being employed in a church designed to be the sepulchre of her kings and the finest of her ecclesiastical structures. It is a confusion of Gothic forms of all ages and countries, and yet, if we except the square abaci, every feature is pure, and most of them good, in their respective styles: and after all there is no such real inconsistency between any two styles of Gothic as to render their mixture offensive to any but a technical eye. To deny the church of Batalha to be beautiful, because it confuses forms which in France or England belong to different centuries, would be the merest pedantry; no one but the driest archæologist would quarrel with a building for a skilful application of some not incongruous feature, though it might historically belong to some other age or country. At the same time this very confusion shows a lack of original genius, and proves Batalha to be, what antiquaries are fond of calling modern churches, "imitation Gothic." It is not the spontaneous effort of native skill, but the mere result of eclecticism. If we compare Batalha with Milan, the former is better Gothic, its forms are purer, more like the true Gothic of the north, it is all in one language, though it confounds its dialects. But it is only a borrowed language, and one imperfectly learned; Milan has a language of its own, it is a style of itself. It may have borrowed both from northern Gothic and from the native Italian forms, but their fusion is effected by that chemical process which out of two elements produces a third different from both. Sienna is mere juxtaposition and confusion; its style is pieced like its material, its different elements alternate without fusion; but in Milan they are wrought up together, like a compound colour, in which neither of the component hues appears. But with that one exception, Italian Gothic must really be considered as the most lifeless, and, as far as art is concerned, the most worthless, of all styles: Spanish is equally imitative, but with this wide difference that, while Italy had a positively contrary element constantly recurring to corrupt its purity, Spain presented an open field, and consequently its style has

chiefly negative defects ; it simply wants that life and vigour which distinguish a native from an imitative style. Consequently a foreign architect, or a native who had imbibed the foreign spirit, had no such impediments and prejudices to contend with in Spain as in Italy ; he might rear unmolested the stately front of Burgos, while in Italy he must have contented himself with the inanities of Orvieto and Sienna, unless his individual genius had sufficient creative power to produce a Milan.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE DECAY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

It was the first Tudor monarch of England, the first whose blood was traced only by an indirect and illegitimate source from the line of her ancient rulers, and whose conquest moreover marks the overthrow of the old feudal power, and the final substitution of the new influence of the plotting head and the cunning tongue, for the old power of the bold heart and the strong arm ; it was this prince, whose reign, and that of others like him, forms such an epoch in constitutional and political history, who reared, as the intended sepulchre of his race, the most gorgeous, though far from the most beautiful, creation of Northern art that England, perhaps that the world, had ever seen, and overshadowed the older resting-place of the Confessor, by the new magnificence of the shrine that was to canopy the sepulchres of the new imperial race. None but a very prejudiced eye can discern in the Chapel of Henry VII. only a debased and corrupted structure, completely repugnant to the principles of Gothic building ; still its lavish and almost fantastic ornaments, the labyrinthal recesses of its outer walls, the mighty turrets of its aisles and the weak pinnacles of its clerestory, and above all its huge pendants, trifling with every law alike of reality and of decorative security, cannot claim from its most fervent admirers the same silent wonder that is called forth by the contemplation of Wykeham's all-perfect nave, or by its own contemporary, the completion of the devout aspirings of the second Confessor, that " meek

usurper," the weakest of princes, but most resigned and placable of individual sufferers.

But the chapel itself, though no longer the same realization of chaste and perfect loveliness, is still pure, though declining, Gothic; it is, no less than the mighty Abbey whose proportions it destroys, the creation of Teutonic minds and the work of Teutonic hands; like the sister pile of Windsor, it is the expression not indeed of pure, unworldly, hierarchal saintliness, but of the splendours of Christian royalty; fitting homes for the devotions of crowned and sceptered monarchs, and of the noble and sacred brotherhoods of the proudest chivalry of Christendom.

Very different is the tomb of which all this splendour is the canopy, the last dwelling-place of the cold and crafty despot to whose glory, as much as to that of the ALMIGHTY, the whole seems dedicated. This was designed by no Northern mind and executed by no Northern chisel. Not that the mere contribution of southern lands to England's fairest temple was an unheard of thing. The monarch who commenced the reconstruction of St. Edward's Church committed his relics to a shrine wrought by Italian artists, and himself reposes in a tomb of the like origin. But then the designers of the South strove to frame their own more costly materials into at least some approximation to Northern and more truly Christian forms; the tomb of the first Tudor is purely Italian, and speaks plainly enough that the days of Gothic art were doomed; nay, more, that the ages whose spirit it embodied had passed away, and that the mighty fabric of Teutonic Christendom was for ever shattered.

It is significant that architectural taste should exhibit its first corruptions in monumental structures. It can hardly be denied that in sepulchral architecture at least, no age can be for a moment compared with the very earliest period of Gothic art. In this respect at least the thirteenth century stands unrivalled, not of course for the mere splendour of the architectural accessories of the tomb, but for the purity and simplicity of the religious lesson conveyed by the tomb itself. The successive changes of Gothic art introduced the respective beauties of their own periods, panelling became more gorgeous, niches and imagery more abundant and more splendid, canopies loftier and more

magnificent, till they at last swell into vast surrounding screens. Yet, after surveying the most splendid monumental remains of later days, the costly splendours of Arundel and Ewelme, the pontifical chapels of Winchester, even the royal tombs of Westminster, the mind still returns to rest with more unalloyed satisfaction on the effigies of the nameless crusader reposing neglected and forgotten in the most obscure corner of some desolate village church, or on the lowly tombs of the monastic lords of Peterborough, where the staff and mitre tell of the holy calling of men of whom uncertain tradition hands down names which are unrecorded on their monuments.

No other period breathes so completely the spirit of the old inscription, "*Homo Christianus fuit*;"¹ none speak so completely of renunciation of self, none are so retiring and unobtrusive, slightly raised from the floor, or concealed in the thickness of the massive wall; the tombs of knight and prelate never disturb the harmony of the fabric, or in the least degree convert the house of God into the mausoleum of man. Yet none are so purely beautiful, so awful in their unadorned simplicity; the eye fixed on the altar is enough to crave the prayers of the faithful for one who fed the flock of CHRIST, or battled for His sepulchre; what need then to tell of his lineage or his name?

The alterations of succeeding ages, improvements in point of mere architectural splendour, did but destroy this beautiful ideal. The tomb becomes too prominent, too much the centre of attraction, the Church becomes almost as much the place for the posthumous celebration of the dead as for the worship of the living. Inscriptions become more frequent, more lengthy, more laudatory and secular; even on the tomb of Wykeham a long rhyming epitaph needlessly records the good deeds which have won the heritage of eternal fame, graven on the memory of the universal Church. From no part of a church had the old spirit further departed than from the monuments of the dead; no wonder then that they were the first to yield to the new corruptions; that the arched and fretted canopy soon made way for the heathen column and entablature, and that the attitude of prayer was gradually changed for that of strife and debate, and attendant angels

¹ See Neale's *Hierologus*, p. 257.

made way for the demons of a fallen superstition. The foul spirits which St. Guthlac expelled from the marshes of Croyland took up their abode in the royal fane of Westminster, and the pagan nudities of Mars or Minerva, Fame or Victory, the Gallic cock or the British lion, draw forth the applause and the pence of a gaping crowd beside the tombs of the mightiest heroes of our land, and the very shrine of its royal founder.

I cannot but think that too much importance has been attached to the religious changes of the sixteenth century, and more especially to the dissolution of monasteries, as direct causes of that change in architecture which in England happened to be nearly contemporaneous with those events. That they cannot be the universal solvent is clear, from the fact that the change commenced in Italy a hundred years before the Reformation, and that architecture became fully as much corrupted in Roman Catholic, as in Protestant countries, or in England. St. Peter's is a wider departure from the ancient type of a cathedral than our own St. Paul's. The results of the dissolution of the monasteries upon art were very important, but altogether indirect. The direct stroke was rather aimed at church-building than at architecture. When sacrilege had devastated the abodes of ancient piety and munificence, had levelled our most glorious temples with the ground, or at best substituted a single half-starved curate for the princely abbot and his monastic choir, and when the revenues which had been disposed in hospitality and pious works were scattered among the basest flatterers of an ungodly king; the chiefest source from which ancient bounty had flowed was at once stopped, and abundant evidence was given that the subsidiary sources had stopped also. And besides the mere ungodliness which destroyed the sanctuary, the mere sacrilegious selfishness of a Cromwell and a Somerset, another principle was at work, which such men turned to their own ends, in the sour fanaticism which considered church-decoration as arrant superstition, and church-building itself as very little better. We must do justice to all men, and there can be little doubt that while these mere worldlings, in their own greed of filthy lucre, destroyed abbeys, plundered cathedrals, and did not spare the very homes of sick and aged poverty, many a grim Puritan looked on with honest satisfaction at the means thus

afforded for the promotion of the "pure Evangell." These causes struck a deadly blow at all church arts, but with a mere change of style they cannot have any direct connection whatever. Protestantism, as a theological system, cannot have any direct affinity with a style of art which most certainly arose under the auspices of Popes.

The change of religion then checked the old spirit of church-building, and as the chief seats both of skill and liberality were suppressed, the natural result was that the little that was done, was done in a poor and meagre style. But it is probable that had the monasteries remained with their old wealth and their old spirit of liberality, more direct injury would have been done to Gothic architecture than was, otherwise than by the destruction of individual buildings, the consequence of their suppression. There is no reason to suppose—indeed the experience of other lands proves the direct contrary—that monasteries would have escaped the infection of the new taste any more than Kings, Bishops, Chapters, Colleges, and private men. Their rich and bountiful Abbots would have as sedulously fostered the new "improvements" in art, just as they had done in former ages; their minsters and dependent churches would have been disfigured by Corinthian altar-pieces, perhaps with pagan emblems; and when reconstructions were required, Reading, and Selby, and Dorchester would have risen again in the guise of St. Paul's or Queen's College Chapel. The overthrow of the abbeys has probably preserved to us—by the preservation of neglect—many noble Gothic structures which would otherwise have been replaced by Italian ones. Their suppression hindered the formation of a school of art, which might have more extensively altered our ancient churches.

The cause then of the substitution of Italian for Gothic architecture as the prevalent and fashionable style of western Europe is to be sought for elsewhere. It is simply a part of what is called the Renaissance, the Revival of Letters, in other words, the Revival of Heathenism. This was a system which infected men's ideas on every subject, and only tended to views the most false and prejudiced. Great and glorious as is the fame of Greece and Rome, they are, after all, but two nations out of many, great in arts, and arms, and letters, but not possessed of

such an exclusive monopoly of greatness, as that their rules and tastes should be bound as an eternal yoke upon all ages and all nations. This our age has at last learned; we have discovered that Northern Christianity is as fruitful in immortal names as Southern Paganism; that great deeds have been done, and mighty ecclesiastical and political systems developed, on this side the Alps; that poetry may be composed without the invocation of the Muse, and that the architecture of the Greek was only one among many forms of beauty. But to the Italians of the fifteenth century, the countrymen of Alfred, of Charlemagne, of Otto the Great, were but hordes of rude barbarians; the relics of heathendom were not only admired as among the choicest forms of beauty, but set up as its only form, as the one model, all deviation from which was proscribed. And we must add that Christianity was all but openly rejected, when a heathen sage was made the object of homage which the Christian would hardly bestow upon the greatest saint, and the initiated addressed each other as "*Fratres dilectissimi in Platone.*"

From Italy this spirit gradually infected all Europe. Political circumstances were tending to break up the old system of Western Europe, that system of Christian government, of which some traces yet lingered on from the days of the old Germanic Empire, and the West-Saxon dynasty in England. Popes were sinking into Italian princes; Emperors and Kings, from consecrated sons of the Church into secular magistrates and wily politicians. And so with art; the heavenly forms of the old masters, the divine beauty which beamed from their pencils who went from the Bread of life to portray its Giver, gave place to the mere earthly loveliness which was all that could be expected from the labours of men who clothed the Blessed among women in the likeness of the unchaste of this world. The severe forms of the elder sculpture, the long draperies and motionless serenity of the saint in his niche, or the warrior on his tomb, gave place, even in subjects still more sacred, to the display of anatomical knowledge in the studied contortions of the naked figure. How then should architecture escape? The old forms were gradually becoming meaningless to a generation with whom the Faith was losing step by step its ancient hold alike on public and private actions. And when the old heathenish sys-

tem was beginning to assume that influence which has been at last happily overthrown ; when Italy, its chosen land, was looked to as the exclusive abode of all art and refinement, and the greatest minds of that country were sedulously devoted to the restoration of classic forms ; what wonder was it that the apostate Teuton, crouching at the feet of fallen Italy, should seize with avidity on the new light, and eagerly substitute the arts of the heathen for the once honoured forms which no longer spoke, as of old, to every national and religious feeling ?

Still however, not even in Italy itself was the triumph of renovated heathenism achieved at a single stroke. Italy had indeed never received Gothic architecture in its purity, nor even the more perfect forms of Romanesque ; still during the prevalence of her own Lombard style, that germ of so much that is grand and beautiful, she had learned many a lesson of real, honest, and consistent architecture, which could not be eradicated in a moment. The countless ranges of arcades, the deeply recessed portals, the tall campaniles, of the old Italian churches possessed a beauty and reality which could not yield at once to the classical infection. Both styles might use round arches and Corinthian columns, but community of spirit there was none. Hence we find an intermediate or transitional style between Gothic and Italian prevailing both in Italy and elsewhere at the time of the first attempts to restore classical architecture. Even the great masters who devoted their energies to that restoration could not at once accomplish what they desired, even in their own works.

This transitional style is called from the century in which it arose in Italy, the Cinque-cento, its English variety being usually known as Elizabethan, two denominations which sufficiently show how long a period elapsed before the new product of Italy had fully established itself in our northern isle. This Transition presents some differences from those already described as paving the way from Grecian architecture to Romanesque and from Romanesque to Gothic. It could hardly be the union of a new system of construction with an old one of decoration, as the revived Italian can scarcely be said to have any system or principle at all. It is however an analogous stage to the elder Transitions, and may be roughly defined as combining Gothic

principles, and, in northern countries at least, Gothic outlines, with details which are partly revived classical and partly non-descript.

We have already seen that classical architecture had no way of decorating a blank wall without a sacrifice of reality; the repetition of the constructive features on a small scale as decorations was first introduced by the Lombards, and thence pervaded almost every form of Romanesque and Gothic. The actual forms thus employed could not of course be pressed into the service of the new style, but the same principle of decoration might avail, and we consequently find the distinguishing mark of cinque-cento to be an application of classical detail according to Gothic principles. "Even when the style became really extinct, the taste was not quite subdued. Architects had been accustomed to enrich their buildings with innumerable small compartments of panelling and minute ornament: thus their successors, instead of the simple colonnade and expansive arch, used a profusion of small columns, entablatures, pediments, and arches, encrusting the face of the building with classical detail, as the former architects had done with Gothic. The style thus formed has a rich and magnificent effect. Witness Heidelberg castle, and many of our own domestic edifices; in some of which, even where a profusion of ornament is not used, the character is preserved by lofty proportions and a division into different stages."¹

Such a style as this cannot but be pronounced an utter barbarism; it has no language, no meaning of its own, but owes all its splendour to the borrowed light of the very style which it is sedulously labouring to eradicate. Cinque-cento buildings exist of great magnificence, and even great beauty, but all their beauty is derived from the Gothic vestiges which linger about them, and give them at a distance the appearance of pure Gothic structures. It is clear that could their details be at once converted into others more harmonizing with the prevailing idea, their beauty would be infinitely enhanced. Cinque-cento, though by virtue of its Gothic element far more beautiful, is even less satisfactory than confirmed Italian; the latter is at least consistent in its Paganism, and suggests nothing better, it conveys no

¹ Petit, I. 23.

idea of contrast, struggle, or victory. Cinque-cento has just sufficient excellence to make us feel more acutely the deficiency of greater excellence ; it suggests the existence of a severe struggle, in which the better cause has been defeated.

The men who won such a victory, the Italian builders of the fifteenth century, were not adversaries to be despised. Great as we hold the misapplication of their powers to have been, it would be folly to attempt to deny their existence. In fact the thorough corruption of the taste of an age or nation—if indeed the substitution of the antique in its first Italian form for such a style as the local Gothic could be called a corruption—is an achievement requiring no less mental vigour than its direction in a better path. No sane person ever denied the intellectual powers, whatever we may think of their application, of Euripides, Ennius, Raphael, or Milton ; and in like manner no name in architectural history can claim a higher place on the score of mere genius than that of Philip Brunelleschi. To him is owing that glorious and wonderful monument of the sublimest powers, the dome of Florence, which for vastness and grandeur, for greatness of conception and skill of execution, must rank among the very noblest of human achievements. I speak not of its degraded details, but of the stupendous majesty of that vast octagon, with the subordinate apses and domes at once supporting it and cowering beneath its shadow. As spreading as St. Sophia, and almost as soaring as a Gothic spire, the cupola of Florence remains literally “the roof and crown of things,” being in all dimensions the largest mass ever reared upon piers and arches, and rearing the triumphant cross to a height equal to that of the proudest steeples of the north. Before so glorious a pile one stops not to inquire whether Greek columns, Lombard arcades, or Flamboyant panelling, enrich its vast circumference ; it stands in its own unrivalled sublimity, the first and foremost of buildings of its own class, before which the boasted St. Peter’s sinks into insignificance. Greater in every proportion, and with the superadded richness of the octagonal form, it is the most wonderful exhibition of mechanical skill, and one of the most glorious products of architectural genius, that the world has ever seen.

The admissibility of the grand cupola is in fact the single

point in which the modern Italian style can compete with the Gothic. It is its one truly glorious offspring, one from which we are debarred, but it is but one against countless forms of majesty and beauty. Even the dome of Florence alone cannot contend with the varied splendours of the spire of Sarum, the tower of Canterbury, and the lantern of St. Ouen's.

Brunelleschi died in 1444. The same cinque-cento style, with all its multiplicity of small columns and infinitesimal divisions of parts, and the barbaric richness which is thus derived to its best specimens, continued in use in Italy throughout the century from which it takes its name. Towards its close Bramante, another instance of the misapplication of splendid powers, employed the same style, and reared in 1496 the magnificent polygonal dome of Santa Maria della Grazie at Milan, whose drum is decorated with arcades. Michael Angelo was the first to discard the cinque-cento, and with it the multiplying principle, and return to the single colossal order.

In Northern countries, and generally wherever Gothic architecture had taken anything like a firm root, the struggle was naturally a much harder one. Italy, though a fashion rather than a taste had induced a partial approximation¹ to the forms of Northern architecture, never really loved or even understood it; to the Italian it spoke of nothing that was dear to his heart or cherished by the recollections of past ages; all his fondest associations were connected with the antagonist style, and its restoration seemed to be, and indeed really was, the rejection of an unnatural bondage. Far different was the case in our own and other more purely Teutonic lands. "In Northern countries Gothic was a favourite style, hallowed by religion, chivalry, and

¹ See above, pp. 405, 6, the quotation from Hope, and also pp. 413—5 of the same work. One might also allude to that truly magnificent though utterly incongruous church, the Certosa near Pavia, so elaborately described by Mr. Petit. Though commenced in 1396, by Gamodia, one of the many architects employed at Milan, its exterior is but little different from the

best Italian Romanesque. Within it has many Gothic features, though the pier-arches are round. Mr. Petit gives no internal view, which is much to be regretted; he mentions that the pier-arches "have Gothic mouldings;" this is very remarkable, mouldings being the very feature in which the Italians so rarely succeeded, even when they made their arches pointed.

art; and the inroads of any principle at variance with it could not work its overthrow without a severe struggle."¹ The race that had reared Cologne and Freyburg, Lincoln and Winchester, Amiens and Beauvais, could not at once surrender the deep moulding, the luxuriant foliage, the waving tracery, the clustering trunks and stony branches of their own pillared forest for the dull monotony of the "five orders," the stiff forms and hard outlines of the round arch and unmanageable entablature. The style which had won to itself the fairest spoils of heathendom, and wrought the combined tribute of the Greek, the Roman, the Saracen, of all art and nature, the trees of the forest, the flowers of the field, and almost every form of animated life, into that one living unity, whose every form did but guide the Christian worshipper to his home above; the style which had taught the kindred yet subject arts to pay their due homage, and yield their tribute to the farther harmony and splendour of the sublime whole; the style which had been reared to perfection among the greatest deeds that the world had ever witnessed, whose first germs had been brought from the birth-place of the Faith by that burst of burning zeal which the thunders of Hildebrand had wakened, and which drove Tancred, and Godfrey, and one greater and better still, to redeem that birth-place from its foes; the style whose infant forms had been watered by the blood of St. Thomas,² and fostered by the bounty of St. Louis, which had grown up to its full splendour under the hands of the immortal Wykeham, whose choicest forms had enshrined the relics of countless saints and martyrs, and even in the stronghold of its antagonist, in the Eternal City itself, had been chosen to canopy the holiest things of all;³ whose every form breathed alike of Teutonic greatness and Christian sanctity, could not fall an unresisting prey before the inroads of the race whose political power had fallen beneath the sword of the Northman, and whose creed had vanished before the preaching of the Cross. For the

¹ Petit, i. 23.

² It must never be forgotten that the earliest instance of anything like Gothic in England is to be found in the choir of Canterbury, rebuilt after the death of that martyr in his honour, and still more in

the stately chapel erected to enshrine his body.

³ Even in Rome the ciboria over the altar were continually Gothic when the rest of the church was in the national style.

revival of Italian architecture is not connected with any theological differences whatever ; it is the simple heathenism of art. To attribute a change which arose in Italy in the fifteenth century to the Reformation in the sixteenth, is simply belied by facts ; the Reformation promoted, but did not cause, a change which, as it so happened, had been fostered by Popes, not however as Popes, but as Italians. Yet the two are connected, but by a subtler chain than that of direct cause and effect ; it was one and the same spirit, working in different channels, which raised a Borgia and a Medicis to the throne of Hildebrand and Innocent, which reared a Brunelleschi to corrupt the taste, a Henry to destroy the fabrics, and a Luther and a Socinus to assault the faith, of the Church ; heartily as many of them cursed and hated one another, all were doing the same work, and all sprung from the same source, the fall of the old faith and glory of Teutonic Christendom before the self-will, the faithlessness, the heathenism of the Renaissance.

The struggle in France was very severe. In some cases the two styles came into actual opposition. Thus the generous enthusiasm of the Bishop and Chapter of Beauvais in the very middle of the sixteenth century, entered with a deliberate purpose upon the task of proving that Gothic architecture might produce something that should surpass, both in size and magnificence the mighty fabric, of St. Peter's ; and more especially might with its soaring steeples exceed the elevation of the Roman cupola. And, had not zeal outrun discretion, they might have succeeded in their noble design. The present superb transepts were reared, and for every reason the nave ought to have come next ; instead of which they erected a tower ; thus violating both ecclesiastical and mechanical principles in their eager desire to display the perfections of the style which depended upon them. A church is complete without a tower, but not without a nave ; and I should suppose that a central tower of great size would require the pressure of the nave for its support. But forgetful of both these considerations, they postponed their nave, and proceeded to rear that gigantic and magnificent steeple, whose fall within a few years after its erection showed the error of its construction, and probably discouraged its authors from proceeding further in their design.

In like manner the Cathedral of Orleans, which was continued during two centuries of the very worst times, in a style which, if not good, is certainly pure, Gothic, cannot be considered in any other light than as a direct protest against the corrupt taste of the age. The mere notion of rebuilding so vast a pile according to the ancient tradition, shows that the ancient spirit did survive in the French Church even in the days of Henri Quatre and his successors, and that even the rule of Richelieu and Mazarin could not utterly debase the land of Charlemagne and St. Louis.

And even where greater inroads were made upon mere style, and the purity of Gothic detail is altogether lost, the old Catholic type of a church is often preserved, and even the sublime proportions of mediæval art remain uninjured. Many fine French churches are simply translations from Gothic into cinquecento. Such especially is the magnificent fabric of St. Eustace at Paris, erected between 1532 and 1648, which retains every feature of the noblest Gothic Minster, simply substituting the minute details of the new style for those appropriate to its outline. We have here the same vast height, the same tall clustered piers, the vaulting-shafts, triforium, and clerestory, the same magnificent apse and arcade, which distinguish the elder French Cathedrals; the very vaulting is in its plan most thoroughly Gothic. But we have arches mostly, though not exclusively, round, classical capitals, heavy imposts, the general squareness and flatness of the Italian style. Such too is the truly grand front of St. Michael at Dijon, which is conceived entirely on the old outline, with two towers of noble proportions, with buttresses of the boldest projection, staircase turrets, and nothing whatever of Italian flatness. Above all, it has an advanced porch with three entrances on the old plan, and covered with niches. But all the details are Italian; the fretted arches of the portal are round, and a grotesque entablature has taken the place of their canopies. The whole façade is crowded with small columns, entablatures, and pediments; the windows are all round-headed, and almost all without tracery; and the octagonal lanterns on the two steeples terminate in cupolas. St. Peter at Caen has been already mentioned; its east end is one of the best examples of this corrupt style, having a polygonal apse and apsidal chapels, with buttresses, pinnacles, flying buttresses, niches, and open para-

pets, all cinque-cento, the Italian element being shown rather in the strange character of these ornaments than in the actual presence of classical members.

In England the progress of the new taste was exceedingly gradual, and many and hard were the struggles of the expiring Gothic. We have seen that its first inroads were made upon tombs, it next attacked furniture ; but Gothic, though in a very corrupt form, continued to be employed in ecclesiastical buildings at least down to the Restoration, when the importation of French tastes struck a further blow at English architecture, as at every thing else that was English.

The Collegiate buildings in Oxford afford, as might reasonably be expected, an excellent study of the progressive decay of Gothic architecture. At the same time it must be allowed that this view is one which exhibits the declining architecture of England to the best advantage, and moreover the late Gothic of Oxford was rather a return to, than an actual continuance of, the older forms. Yet in this point of view it is still more interesting ; a deliberate return to Gothic architecture is a fact more valuable for our purpose than a mere lifeless retention of its forms.

The reign of James the First beheld not a few erections, both ecclesiastical and secular, which are deserving of considerable commendation. Great part of Exeter, Wadham, Jesus, Merton, and Trinity Colleges, together with the Schools, are of this date. The chapels of the three first foundations are of this date, and are very tolerable examples of Perpendicular.¹ The choir of Wadham Chapel is indeed so good an example of the style that it has often been mistaken for a portion of the Augustinian monastery which originally occupied the site. It is very remarkable that the architect should have succeeded so well in his Perpendicular designs, and yet so egregiously failed in his attempts at Flowing tracery in the windows of the antechapel. All these chapels are studious imitations of the earlier styles, and I have no hesitation whatever in preferring them to the Chapels of Corpus Christi and Balliol² Colleges, which are

¹ As to *style* ; I speak not of the mechanical construction of Exeter.

² This Chapel, built in 1521, is an early instance of debased architec-

ture ; it is very low and heavy, and on the south side has round-headed windows.

nearly a century older. The hall of Exeter College is also fair Perpendicular, though the details of the noble open roof will not bear examination. All these buildings affect high gables; the Chapels and Halls have roofs of lofty pitch, and the domestic buildings exhibit a multiplicity of sharp pediments, having invariably a beautiful and picturesque outline. In fact Wadham College, built entirely at this time, is in general appearance decidedly one of the best in the University, and the Jacobæan quadrangle at Merton is wonderfully picturesque, though perhaps rather more like a private mansion than a College.

We have not hitherto seen the intrusion of any distinctively foreign element; the idea is generally completely Gothic, and often of great merit, the corruption is to be traced in the poor and inaccurate details, in some cases retained by corrupt tradition from the latest Perpendicular, in others traceable to an eclectic imitation of earlier styles. Thus the mouldings of the great gate of the Schools are palpably intended as a copy of Early Gothic forms; they are neither Italian nor Perpendicular. Yet even in these buildings there is an Italian intermixture of the most curious kind. Every one has heard of the building of which the gate just mentioned forms a part; the famous Schools tower, with its display of "the five orders of architecture." That is, it has stuck to it, without any meaning or connection, a couple of columns on each side, dividing it into five stages, each stage exhibiting an order. These might, without disturbing the outline of the building, or any essential feature, be removed, and would leave a Gothic tower of tolerable proportions, with a corner turret and a pierced parapet, and in no detail, except the round arch of its doorway, presenting any distinctively foreign mixture. The same strange composition may be also seen on a smaller scale at Merton and Wadham. They are so utterly innocent of any share in the general composition of the building, that one might almost fancy that their sole end was to show that the architect, though working in the Gothic style, was by no means ignorant of the other. If so we cannot congratulate him on his success, as his orders are anything but pure specimens even of the corruptions of Italy.

It is a most remarkable fact that the revived Gothic of Oxford, a truer and better Renaissance than that which usually

monopolizes the name, actually improved and developed as it went on. Laud's buildings at St. John's College are indeed an exception. Even these are in general outline Gothic, but in their Gothic features much more Italian or rather nondescript detail has intruded itself than in the structures already mentioned; and, farther than this, the cloister, though supporting a Gothic upper story, consists of round arches on single columns. Yet even this is Basilican rather than Italian, it is the very arrangement against which classical pedants so bitterly cry out in the first Christian Churches. But this erection was rather extraneous than native, it was not the genuine production of the Oxford school, but an intrusion of the court architect, Inigo Jones. The local school continued on the whole to improve. Oriel and University, the latter of which was not completed till after the Restoration, have hardly the same merit as designs as Wadham, but they are free from the monstrosities of the Schools tower. One circumstance is especially worthy of notice, that the tracery of their larger windows entirely forsakes the Perpendicular line, and reverts to the Flowing forms, though but clumsily imitated. The ogee gables have certainly a fantastic air, and a pure taste will not compare them with the genuine straight-lined forms; still they were probably intended as a Gothic development, and certainly cannot in any sense be looked upon as distinctively Italian.

But the strongest point of this after-Gothic of Oxford is decidedly in the vaulting, of which many admirable specimens exist. The fan-tracery under the gateways of University College is fully equal in effect to any ancient example; but unquestionably the finest specimen is the magnificent staircase to the Hall of Christ Church, which, though erected as late as 1640, must be allowed to take its place among the noblest monuments of Gothic architecture. It is a real idea, a genuine work of original genius; nothing can be finer than the great central pillar, an idea taken of course from the Early Chapter-houses, but which has here found a most bold and original application. The details throughout are so pure, that it is next to impossible to distinguish the original work of Wolsey from the additions of this period; and we may fairly say, that in greatness of conception it far surpasses anything that the Cardinal has left behind

him. The only point liable to objection is, that the clusters of overlapping corbels, from which the vault springs at the sides, do not altogether satisfy the strict laws of decorative construction.

After the Restoration Italianisms become far more frequent. A large part of the great quadrangle at Christ Church was indeed built or rebuilt at this time in exact, or rather ludicrously servile, imitation of Wolsey's work, and the gateway tower must be allowed the name of Gothic, impure as it is. This was finished by Sir Christopher Wren in 1682, and, as a mere work of architecture, apart from considerations of the purity of particular styles, must be allowed to be a fine conception, fully worthy of the great, though perverted, genius to whom it is due. It strikes the mind at once, and not unpleasingly, by the boldness and singularity of its outline; the cupola can hardly be called inconsistent with the style, and is a noble carrying out of the idea suggested by the smaller ones clustering round its base. It is St. Sophia in the garb of a Gothic gateway.

But other instances are less pure: Brasenose Chapel is about as daring a piece of eclecticism as was ever perpetrated. Corinthian pilasters act as buttresses between pointed windows in awkward imitation of Geometrical forms, and the whole is overloaded with strange and fantastic ornaments. This bears date in 1666; after this we have but small traces of Gothic even in Oxford. The spire of All Saints' Church has round-headed windows with intersecting tracery; and the peculiar style of the later buildings at All Souls' includes some Gothic elements; this last however is mere fancy-work, and not, like the others I have mentioned, a genuine relic of the old tradition. The subsequent buildings, up to our own day, are all Italian, though even here Oxford may boast of possessing some of the best specimens of a bad style. The warmest detester of Paganisms may hesitate between such Italian as the glorious mass of the Radcliffe Library, the solemn apse of Queen's College Chapel, and its yet more stately Hall, and such Gothic as we have seen added, not only to the nondescript erections of Pembroke College, but to the venerable front of University.

Now is it too much to suppose that this decided revival and

strong adherence to the old Northern and Christian forms is but the material reflection of that Catholic movement in the English Church, which has immortalized the names of Andrewes and Laud, and a host of inferior worthies? Of course we are not to look for any direct influence; the very structure raised in Oxford by the martyred Archbishop paganizes, as we have seen, more than any contemporary building in the University, and it was under his auspices that the most fatal changes were inflicted upon old St. Paul's. But under the notion which I have all along taken of the deeper meaning of architecture, there is no absurdity in supposing an unconscious influence to have emanated from a source which would have actually disclaimed it. We might even suppose, though I know not of any actual authority for the supposition, that Laud despised Gothic architecture, and yet that its revival was owing to the spirit which he kindled. The most remarkable feature of this page in the history of architecture is its being so strictly a *revival*. Its date exactly coincides with the period when there was so eminent a revival of Catholic feeling and doctrine; the age of Elizabeth, in Oxford emphatically the age of Puritanism, produced no building of any consequence; the revived Gothic dates, as we have seen, from the reign of James the First. And it was a real revival of the old spirit; it was not a mere dry antiquarian copying, a loading a meaningless outline with detail rigidly copied from some existing structure. Its fruits are really fruits of architecture, the design, the outline, is almost always good, and sometimes, as in the staircase of Christ Church, great original genius is at work. It is wonderful how little the corruption of detail affects the excellence of the whole. And it is not a mere effete Perpendicular; it is a living, developing, eclectic style, pressing old forms of different dates into its service, and calling forth new ones of its own. If any one would estimate the merit of this revived Gothic, and judge how far architecture without archæology, outline without detail, surpasses detail without outline, how far the rudest efforts of the real artist transcend the most finished productions of the mere antiquary, he has only to compare the old and new buildings of University College to which I have already alluded.

Out of the Universities—for Cambridge too has its late struc-

tures of great merit,¹ though in this case owing less to revival than to retention—the inroads of Paganism were far stronger. Nowhere else was there either such a store of ancient models, or what was yet more valuable, so much of the spirit of former times still abiding, in spite of individual errors, in the very soil and atmosphere of the old Catholic foundations. Yet everywhere the struggle was a long and fierce one; Gothic elements long survived, and even remained supreme. Of course they remained longest where they were least exposed to the influences of prevalent taste and fashion. The simple village church, the retired country mansion, the house in the obscure town, are the places where we are to look for the last traces of Gothic art, and here manifestly, not from any studied revival, but from a faint and lingering tradition of better days. The inroads of the foreign style were staved off by the mere *vis inertiae*. The outline is mostly Gothic; the varied groupings of the gables,² turrets, and porches of the great mansions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fully equal in general effect any thing which preceded them. They have corrupted the taste of many, who have set up what they have called “Elizabethan” architecture as a real style, sometimes actually for imitation, forgetful that the same beauties, combined with purity of detail, may be found in the true Gothic structures of the preceding age. Of directly Italian features we occasionally find balustrades, meaningless pillars and entablatures piled over one another, and especially doorways which often have Italian mouldings, and nondescript scroll and arabesque work in the spandrels, besides being continually furnished with marked keystones, whether the arch be round or depressed pointed.³ Yet many doorways are also found of unmixed, though very corrupt, Gothic. The windows scarcely ever show any Italian features; they are usually square, even in

¹ Some portions of St. John's College, erected in the reign of Elizabeth, are most exquisite in outline and very tolerable in detail. What a contrast to the barbarisms of Rickman!

² These are mostly of the true Gothic form, but sometimes ogee, or even round.

³ The doorways in Jersey throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are round-headed, but otherwise Gothic, and generally without keystones. The earlier ones are often superb specimens of Flamboyant work.

churches ; in houses they are often of immense size ; they are furnished with mullions and transoms, but are usually without tracery, having at the most a row of unfoliated arches. These are usual in churches and colleges, but in houses the arches are generally absent, and nothing left but the intersecting horizontal and vertical bars. In churches we sometimes find pointed windows with meagre attempts at tracery. Stone and brick houses of this kind continued to be built quite down to the end of the seventeenth century. Even the class which succeeded them, ugly as they were, were something very superior to those of our day ; they were both substantial and unpretending ; they often had high roofs and dormers, and in their doorways and windows, though without arches or mullions, the stone cases still imparted an air of solidity and finish very different from the meagre apertures which give light and ingress to a genuine nineteenth century dwelling, wherever the almost more detestable phase of the modern Elizabethan with wooden mullions has not taken its place.

But it is in the accessories and decorations of buildings that we can trace the inroads of Cinque-cento in England better than in their actual architecture. In architecture it did little more than engraft a few incongruous details upon outlines of the old form ; in wood-work and furniture of every kind, both ecclesiastical and domestic, it effected a complete revolution. So sudden and effectual was the change that King's College Chapel itself was fitted up with a roodscreen and stalls of this character. This kind of work is very easily recognized, but is very difficult to describe. It is neither Gothic nor Italian, but a fantastic style of itself. The Gothic wood-work was mainly imitation stone-work ; it was panelling and tracery, blank or open as the case required. It therefore chiefly consists in the representation of architectural features, and has but little surface-carving, except in cases where it occurs in stone-work also, such as cornices and spandrels, and even there the foliage is, after all, in idea at least, rather inserted than carved out of the mass. But Cinque-cento carving delights to cover the whole surface with decorations in shallow relief, cut out of the mass like the enrichments of an early Norman capital. Foliage, figures, and more frequently meaningless arabesques, are employed in profusion,

and produce a magnificent, though barbarous, effect. Even when architectural features are introduced, as is not uncommon, (round arches resting on indescribable imposts often appearing,) even these are not, like the Gothic panelling, a distinct composition fastened on to the surface, but are hewn out of the mass in the same low relief as the rest. The first appearance of this new kind of carving is to be found in the linen pattern so common in late Perpendicular work. Real classical features as rarely appear as pure Gothic ones, except in very large compositions, as screens, where columns are often introduced, though usually departing very far from Palladian accuracy. There is however a great fondness for capitals, chiefly Ionic, but they are frequently employed where nothing that can be called a shaft supports them. In smaller works there is a great tendency to Caryatid figures, generally of a very grotesque character. Indeed the tendency to grotesque figures is so great as almost to assimilate the style to Romanesque, to which it has a considerable affinity in several respects. In the manor-house at Charwelton, Northamptonshire, is a singular cornice of about the middle of the sixteenth century, representing hunting and other scenes, which, in the grotesque misproportions of the figures and the general character of the carving, has a strong Romanesque air, and might almost stand side by side with the capitals in St. Peter's, Northampton.

In churches this style of wood-work is very common, that being the feature of which the age to which it belongs has left the most abundant specimens. Pulpits are often met with of great richness: I cannot name a finer example than the magnificent one in Oxford Cathedral:—communion-tables with bulging legs covered with carving; sometimes altar-rails, as at Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire; occasionally also stalls, and more frequently pews, all exhibit this fantastic style of ornament. It is more rare to find it intermingled with Gothic features,¹ as in the roodscreen of Oxford Cathedral, or on the other hand sinking into mere meagre paganism, as in the stalls of the same church. Of roofs of this date I may refer to that over the chancel of Towcester Church, which is low-pitched, and has both panelling and ara-

¹ The stalls at Durham are fair Perpendicular work subsequent to the Restoration.

besque work in the spandrels, and the chancel-roof at Shiffnal, which is high-pitched, and on the whole handsome, but more suited to a hall than to a church.

But alongside of these corruptions, the true Gothic style was not altogether lost ; if it seldom found place in newly erected structures, it was by no means excluded from the reparation of elder ones. Thus the magnificent steeple of Higham Ferrers Church was nearly rebuilt in the reign of Charles I. ; though its rebuilders are not so much to be commended for any actually new work, as for a careful working up again of the ancient fragments. And the like may have been the case with the restoration of the transepts of Westminster Abbey, quite at the close of the same century. But a higher praise must be allowed to Bishop Hacket, whose admirable restoration of Lichfield Cathedral after the Restoration was the greatest work of that age. No one who gazes on the consummate loveliness of its triple spires can realize the day when the great steeple crushed the choir in its fall, or the twelve years or more during which the most graceful of all English churches remained little better than a roofless ruin. The hand of Wyatt has left more enduring traces than that of the elder spoiler. Nor can we fail to mention the tomb, which, though a lengthy epitaph disfigures its side, retains the old form in all its purity, and on which reposes, in the garb of Poore and Wykeham, the last emulator of their deeds, the last English Bishop whose name has come down to posterity as the restorer and adorer of his own cathedral church.

But, as a general rule, the confirmed Italian style had by this time obtained that supremacy in Northern countries which it had achieved a century earlier in its own country. Now, considered as a style, as a matter of architectural history, this form of architecture must be looked upon as simply detestable. Great was the genius of many, and the piety of some, who practised or favoured it ; consequently we have many beautiful, and a few really religious structures of Italian architecture ; but the fact that supereminent abilities can produce a good effect out of bad materials proves nothing as to the character of the latter. Besides, many Italian buildings are large, well-proportioned, and richly decorated, characters which, utterly irrespective of style, cannot fail, if not to generate real beauty, at least to produce a

striking and attractive effect. We are not bound to pronounce every individual building to be ugly, because the style in which they are reared is, both in a moral and an artistic view, thoroughly contemptible. As noble thoughts and striking images may burst the trammels of a rude and inharmonious language, so faith and genius cannot be utterly bound down even by a Palladian bondage. We may freely admit that the very best Italian is better than the very worst Gothic, Queen's College Hall than Balliol College Chapel, the Radcliffe Library than the Schools; but this very best Italian is immeasurably behind the best Gothic, and the worst Italian has only this advantage over the worst Gothic that it does not so painfully suggest the lack of something better.

The fact is that there is in strictness, in England at least, no such thing as an Italian *style*. By Italian architecture we do not understand a definite type of building, which, however various may be the forms which it assumes, still retains a pervading character, which unites them as members of one family, expressions of one idea. It is a heap of forms which are not Gothic, nor, in the highest sense, Christian, but which beyond this negative element have no common character. Classical pedants are fond of declaiming against the variety, the irregularity, the fantastic character of Gothic architecture; but much more is the brain bewildered by an attempt to classify the shifting forms of the revived Italian. One building has a real Grecian colonnade and entablature, and may even go the length of a pediment; another has one or more such stuck against a wall, and windows pierced between; another has no columns at all, but sturdy square piers and round arches; another has only pilasters, perchance of forms unrecognized by Vitruvius; in another all these have vanished, and we have nothing left but windows and doors. All Gothic churches, from York Minster to St. Bartholomew's Chapel, have a certain resemblance; they have the same essential parts, and a certain analogy of proportion; but what one class can include the truly ecclesiastical outline of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the half-temple, half-conventicle form of St. Paul's at Oxford; the mass, with more breaks than Shiffnal or Purton, of All Saints, Northampton, and the square room forming its Oxonian namesake; not to mention the prison of Banbury or the theatre of Shrewsbury? If Gothic is an unde-

veloped idea, much more so is Italian ; it is impossible to read the writings of any classical traveller or critic without finding almost as many complaints against modern Italian as against ancient Gothic buildings. They talk a great deal of purity, simplicity, &c., but do not seem to have found the outward expression of those ideas in any existing fabric. They long for a realization of their classical ideal, but, to judge from their own showing, the site of the model Italian building must be looked for in Utopia, and the funds for its erection be discovered at the impost of the rainbow.

In considering this architecture, the mind of an Englishman naturally reverts to the greatest work of the kind that his country has beheld, and the sublime, though perverted, genius to whom it is owing. I trust it is no renunciation of the most devoted admiration of the glories of our elder architecture, I trust that Walsingham and Wykeham would pardon the belief, that St. Paul's Cathedral is a great work, and that Sir Christopher Wren was a great architect. Wretched as is its style, glaring and even ludicrous as are its individual defects, bitterly as its cold walls and naked windows cry for colour and gilding, St. Paul's is still a grand and majestic temple ; its porches are worthy of having the cry of the greedy money-changer hushed within them, and its lofty nave and spreading cupola deserve a better fate than to be the dwelling-place of the demons of heathendom. But to what does it owe its splendour ? Most undoubtedly to the fact that the whole idea of the building is that, not only of a Catholic, but of a Romanesque or Gothic church. The ground-plan is thoroughly that of an old Cathedral ; nave, choir, transepts, aisles, eastern apse, western towers, central lantern. So too in internal elevation, piers, arches, clerestory ; and those, but for the hideous shape of the windows, and the unmeaning entablature thrust in above the arcade, of by no means bad arrangement and proportion. It is a Gothic conception expressed in Italian details. Not that for this we have to thank the architect, who would, if unshackled, have allowed us nothing of the kind ; it is simply owing to the traces of the old tradition, and to the Catholic feelings of the Caroline divines, who might be ignorant or careless about architectural detail, but were not men to allow the new Cathedral to depart from the ecclesiastical model of the elder one.

What the Italian style produced when left to itself we see in the great St. Peter's, where the whole nave consists only of four yawning arches without a clerestory, supporting a barrel-vault ; a tunnel with its sides perforated by a series of railway bridges. Add to this a front without the slightest approach to ecclesiastical character. No one could mistake that of St. Paul's, of the Annunciata or the Carignana at Genoa, for anything but the façade of a church ; but that of St. Peter's, if it stood by itself, might really be anything else. Yet of course no one can deny that St. Peter's is grand, majestic, and overpoweringly sublime. But it is rather a triumph of building than of architecture ; with the exception of the dome, that glorious crown which adds majesty to the most worthless pile, the majesty of St. Peter's is rather that of vastness and daring than of grace and harmony, the fruit of power rather than of art ; it is the grandeur of an Egyptian temple or a Roman aqueduct rather than the true beauty of the Parthenon or of St. Ouen's.

We need not delay very long over the details of the Italian style as exhibited in England ; over the vagaries attempted in the formation of piers, the fantastic combinations of the old Romans with the addition of some new ones, or on the preternaturally ugly forms of its windows. Tracery was of course usually despised as a bungling contrivance for shutting out the light ; and when it was attempted, as in All Saints, Northampton, it is of such a character as not to cause much regret for its absence elsewhere. One may however observe that in the steeples there is always more or less of a Gothic leaven intermingled. The simple form of the old Lombard Campanile is scarcely ever attempted ; we commonly meet with fantastic compositions in stages of different forms, open turrets, etc., attempts to clothe the varied outlines of the later Gothic steeples in the details of the now fashionable style. The results are various, most commonly ludicrously unsuccessful, but occasionally a good outline is attained, which, at a distance too great to perceive the details, has a striking effect. All Saints in Oxford is a fine example of the more fantastic kind of spire, and, barbarous as its architecture is found to be on a closer examination, forms no despicable point in the distant view of the city. Simpler examples of spires are not uncommon ; of towers Warwick has

doubtless the pre-eminence, but that of Woodstock, and, on a smaller scale, Badby in Northamptonshire, are very handsome in a distant, and very hideous in a near view.¹ Indeed many towers and spires were built or rebuilt with fair outlines in yet worse times, such as Greens Norton, Northamptonshire, a most striking and beautiful object for miles round. Such examples, in which the spirit of the old masters is caught among utter ignorance and even contempt of their details, must rank much higher in the estimation of the architectural critic than the examples which we too often see in the present day, crowded with misapplied detail, but of outline and proportion utterly starved and meagre.

The school of Wren indeed was one which might in several points furnish an example to modern architects. The Italian churches of the Metropolis, bad as we may consider their style, were, from the Restoration to the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, evidently the best offerings which their founders knew how to make. "Though generally in an impure style of architecture, sometimes of a Palladian character, sometimes perfectly indescribable, they are built in a most expensive manner, with great solidity and a certain grandeur of proportions, that cannot fail to excite some admiration, in spite of architectural solecisms and deficient arrangement. And there is in almost all the churches built in the Metropolis, about this time, some sort of recognition of chancel internally, and in some instances, as at St. Peter, Cornhill, and Allhallows the Great, a roodscreen actually exists."²

¹ With the details of Warwick tower I am not acquainted; the others do not attempt anything in the way of Gothic detail, though the outline is of this kind. This distinguishes them from those towers of the same character in which there is a manifest attempt at carrying the imitation of Gothic into the smaller features as well as into the main outline. Such is the detached campanile at Berkeley, and the tower of Dursley church, both of good Perpendicular propor-

tion and attempting appropriate detail, the latter (circ. 1709) far from unsuccessfully. This last is very like the tower at Sherston, Wilts, (circ. 1680) figured in Petit's Architectural Character.

² Ecclesiologist for February, 1847, p. 43. A real chancel with chancel arch and roodscreen exists in All Saints, Northampton, though rendered useless by the aggregation of "Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus" immediately to the west thereof.

But architecturally speaking, the greatest merit of Wren, and which shows what his powers might have effected, had they been turned in a right direction, is his thorough appreciation of Gothic outlines. We shall remember that in his Gothic erections he was working thoroughly against the grain, and yet, what speaks as highly for his moral as for his artistic feelings, he always gave the style full play. This indeed renders his contempt for Gothic architecture yet more unintelligible; to reject it, when he showed so thorough a power of entering into its higher principles, is more extraordinary than if he had simply despised through ignorance. Still, account for it as we may, the fact cannot but greatly increase our admiration for his architectural powers. As in the towers lately mentioned, where there is no attempt at Gothic detail, so here, where the building is designed to be wholly Gothic, the outline is almost always excellent. The towers of Westminster Abbey are exceedingly good in general effect; they strongly recall those of Lincoln, and have the same defect in the pinnacles. And some of Wren's Gothic churches in the city quite rival ancient buildings in their general appearance. The details of course are often wretched; for, while, by the mere force of his architectural genius, he at once grasped the general conception of a Gothic edifice, he had not given to the minutiae of a style which he despised that diligent and critical study without which excellence of detail cannot be looked for. In a word, Sir Christopher Wren was no antiquarian, but he was a very great architect, and, had not his taste been warped by the infection of the day, he might have been the restorer of Gothic architecture instead of the dealer of its death-blow.

With the school founded by this great man, and his successors Hawksmoor and Gibbs, our history of architecture must close. The greater part of the last age is an entire blank in ecclesiastical art, the great mass of the churches erected during that period being in no style at all, but simply hideous and unmeaning, as alien from the principles of Palladio as of Wykeham. And the same may be said of secular buildings, both public and domestic; none but those of the most sumptuous character can at all pretend to the name of architectural works. For Italian architecture trusts entirely to size and richness of

ornament ; by the aid of these it often produces an effect which disarms technical criticism ; but it has not that exquisite power and versatility by which the Gothic architect can impart a high degree of beauty even to the smallest and plainest structure. The last great work, the last really noble product of architectural genius, bequeathed to us by this school is the sublime Radcliffe Library at Oxford, the work of Gibbs, and completed in 1747. One cannot conceive a grander mass than the circular substructure and cupola without, or a grander interior, could it be seen without obstruction, that the same form, including a massive arcade, presents within. It completely recalls the idea of an old Italian Baptistery ; and were its circumference belted with Lombard arcades instead of engaged Corinthian columns, it would be marvellously to its advantage.

Those who, like Wilkins, turned their attention to the study of the pure Grecian orders instead of their Italian corruptions, must be considered as having greatly benefited the study of architectural history, but as having done nothing whatever for the improvement of architectural practice. Palladian architecture had been for some centuries applied to secular buildings, and, with all its faults, had been moulded into certain forms which were at all events familiar, and consequently, by association at least, adapted to their use. But pure Grecian architecture, with its one inflexible form, the portico, is utterly incapable of adapting itself to the requirements of a modern building of any kind ; and the only practical result of Stuart and Wilkins' labours, has been the creation of a class of buildings infinitely more incongruous and unmeaning than the old type of the Palladian palace, and, what that usually is not, thoroughly shapeless and meagre. To attach an advanced portico to a rectangular room with no lateral ornament whatever, was a bright idea, and one that serves equally for church, concert-room, or anything else. But to mingle up the eternal portico with the wildest fantasies that Italianism had previously devised ; the said portico attached to a dead wall, with two loftier projecting wings ; those wings adorned with columns copied from a solitary example, the least graceful that Grecian art had produced, and these columns having no end but to support vases and images, which vases and images again have no end but to form a finish to the

columns; and this composition diversified by windows of the most portentous ugliness that human perversity ever imagined; all this we have seen arise in our own day in venerable Oxford, in close proximity to one of the noblest creations of ancient, and the very noblest creation of modern days. Such is the chastity and simplicity, the purity and harmony, of Grecian architecture in the nineteenth century, as carried out by the most eminent of its professors, in a city which had beheld not only some of the noblest efforts of Romanesque and Gothic art, but the most successful productions even of revived Italianism; which has seen Queen's College Hall, and the Radcliffe Library, as well as St. Frideswide's and St. Mary's. For the opposite to every principle which Pheidias and Ictinus, no less than Walkelyn and Wykeham, cherished and obeyed, we have only to look to those pursued by the authors and abettors of the Taylor Buildings, the very Mosynoecians¹ of architecture:

The revival of Gothic art in our own day is a subject at once too recent and too extensive to form a mere Chapter in the History of Architecture. It is as yet not a matter of history, but of aspiration. And we must carefully distinguish the study of Gothic archæology from the revival of Gothic art, and the revival of Gothic art from the revival of that spirit which alone can give it value. As yet we have much to grieve for; our own land cries in vain for the erection of new churches and the restoration of her old ones; the *fabric* of Ely and Westminster may be renewed, but while the laity throng the choir, and Pagan nudities stand unrebuked, the *Church* is unrestored. In other lands,² we have seen the walls of mighty Minsters renewed only to emblazon the glories of rulers whom the Church can regard only as persecutors. And in the pure Teutonic land, the very birth-place of all art, we find the mightiest creation of antiquity

¹ See Xenophon, Anab. E. iv. τοὺς [Μοσυνοικοὺς] ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευόμενοι βαρβαροτάτους διελθεῖν καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους.

² These remarks were written before the great events of the last year: how, or to what extent, any

of the buildings or restorations alluded to are now likely to be continued, I know not. I have altered one or two expressions from their original form, as they might otherwise have appeared like an insult to fallen greatness.

advancing to completion under the auspices of one whom its ancient guardians would, like St. Ambrose of old, have turned back from its glorious portals. And more mournful still, we behold its modern rival,¹ the noblest work that three ages have produced, the pile whose lofty spire would seem to call adoring crowds to the Church's most gorgeous worship, a Church only in name, designed for a teaching alien to her fold. We must work as churchmen if we would succeed even as architects; we must seek and pray for the spirit in which Godfrey fought and Fra Angelico painted; we must work as for God and His Church, and we shall soon outstrip the bonds of imitation and archæology, and starting from the principles of the mighty workers of old, may trust in time to surpass even the glorious creations that they have left us.

¹ St. Nicholas at Hamburg.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 15, line 10 from bottom et seqq. I find not only the general sentiment, but even some of the expressions, forestalled in a passage of Washington Irving, which, if it presented itself at all to my recollection at the time, certainly did so unconsciously ;—"We were overshadowed by lofty trees, with straight smooth trunks, like stately columns ; and as the glancing rays of the sun shone through the transparent leaves, tinted with the many-coloured hues of autumn, I was reminded of the effect of sunshine among the stained windows and clustering columns of a Gothic cathedral. Indeed, there is a grandeur and solemnity in some of our spacious forests of the west, that awakens in me the same feeling that I have experienced in those vast and venerable piles, and the sound of the breeze sweeping through them supplies, occasionally, the deep breathings of the organ."—Tour on the Prairies, p. 47.

Page 56, line 13. For this very expressive word "stilt" I am under an obligation to a paper by Professor Orlebar, which will be found several times referred to in a subsequent Chapter. It expresses a portion of masonry above the regular column, which is constructively part of the pier, but in the decoration assumes the form either of a portion of the arch, or of a distinct member. The Egyptian *dé* is an analogous insertion between the column and the entablature. See below, pp. 69, 70, where it is remarked that the parallel between the two is "perhaps not altogether accidental." The first confirmed use of the stilt occurs in the Arabian buildings at Cairo, (see below, p. 272) where it may possibly have been suggested by the *dé* of the elder Egyptian style.

Page 108, line 3. In the Roman style a triglyph is placed over the centre of each column. This would appear to be a deterioration, and is clearly analogous to the Roman fashion of breaking up the entablature into a series of projections over the columns.

Page 117, line 5. τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέκρυψεν· ἀποθάνοντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάκωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας ἐπέστησε. Plut. Per. 13. Was the second range of columns an afterthought?

Page 122, line 7. One of the most interesting of Grecian buildings, were it in existence, would be the Athenian Odeum, built in

imitation of the royal tent of Xerxes. See Dict. of Ant., Art. Odeum. This imitation, however, would effectually preclude it from being a work of true Grecian architecture. The account given by Plutarch (ut *suprà*) is τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολυέδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινέν καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μῆς κορυφῆς πεποιήμενον. This must have been a conical roof, but there is nothing to imply any approximation to a real, or even an apparent, vault, and it may very probably have been of wood. One would be well pleased to know the exact construction of the *θόλοι* at Athens and elsewhere. See Dict. of Ant., Art. Tholus. If they had domes, real or apparent, as, from the example of the monument of Lysicrates, is certainly possible, still the form is not purely Grecian; it could not have been derived from the principles of Greek architecture, but copied from Pelasgian remains.

Page 239, line 5 from the bottom. This distinction into principal and alternate piers is doubtless one of the German features at Jumièges alluded to by Dr. Whewell, (p. 281) and Mr. Petit, (i. 94, see below, p. 264) as the octagons are another.

Page 241, line 7. This observation must of course be confined to the arcades of churches. In external situations where strength alone is required, as in bridges and aqueducts, nothing is so appropriate as the massive square pier. If the arch be pointed, a chamfer is all that is wanted. There cannot be worse taste than wasting decoration on structures of this kind, as in those of the London bridges which have columns attached.

Page 245, line 7. There are manifest preparations for Romanesque vaulting over the transepts of Oxford Cathedral, whose style agrees pretty well with these buildings, as well as the vaults at Canterbury and St. Cross. (See below, p. 323.)

Page 246, line 7 from bottom. At Southwell the transept arches are greatly spoiled by the massive responds, half-columns, like the piers at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and still more objectionable from their position.

Page 256, line 3 from bottom. "Few perhaps will sympathize with the Ecclesiologist in the positive aversion with which it regards a sketch of an Ionic volute or a fluted pillar in juxta-position with the sacred details of Christian art." Ecclesiologist, IV. 178. Few indeed.—What if the "sketch" be taken from a Basilica? and what are the "sacred details?" how can one sort of *detail* be more sacred than another?

Page 318, line 15. See Ecclesiologist, V. p. 234—44.

Page 323, line 22. Malmsbury was cited inadvertently; it has rich Romanesque mouldings, and consequently belongs to the same

class as Glastonbury, except in its massiveness. St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, in the circular part, is a case in point.

Page 324, line 20. This form of window, with the round arch, but with otherwise confirmed Gothic detail, is by no means usual as a single lancet. It occurs in the superb foliated quintuplet in the west front of Berkeley church; and as a containing arch over two lancets, the round form is far from uncommon in the Northamptonshire towers, and occurs both in the tower and west front of the splendid church of Felmersham, Bedfordshire, figured in Petit's *Architectural Character*.

Page 325, line 5. Lest the expression in the text should seem invidious, I think it right to mention that this destroyed church has given way, though on another site, to a modern one of considerable merit, and far surpassing its predecessor in general effect. Still we must regret the loss of these valuable details.

Page 346, line 8. Tintern is hardly a case in point, some of the windows having intersecting lines, to which the remark in the text does not apply, but it is eminently true of Netley.

Page 357, note ¹. I might add those in the choir of the Temple church, which is hardly conventual in its architecture.

Page 358, line 12. The square-headed window, in the form of a decapitated lancet, occurs in the chancel of Cowley church, Oxon; square-headed windows of two or more lights of Geometrical date occur at Congresbury, Somerset, and St. Kenelm's, Salop, and are not uncommon in Northamptonshire, where the use of the square head at all times is a localism. (See below, p. 379.) The circular window containing tracery, of a size intermediate between the small foliated circle and the great wheel window, and also the triangular window of the same character, are far more usual in Early Gothic than afterwards.

Page 367, line 17. For "graceful" I should rather have said "appropriate." Nothing can be more graceful than the foliage at Lincoln, but the tothing at Lichfield is certainly better adapted to the position.

Page 369, line 3 from bottom. The nave of Berkeley church should also be mentioned as a specimen of Early Gothic arcades of earlier date and a different character, but fully equal in beauty to either Stafford or Dorchester.

Page 378, note 2. The clerestory windows at Canterbury and Winchester cannot be called true Perpendicular. The transitional character of the choir of York has often been observed.

Page 382, line 11. The equal high pitch of Canterbury and Winchester gives them a great advantage over York and Gloucester, in

both of which the variations of height both in wall and roof produce a very unpleasant irregularity. The nave of York ought to have been mentioned as a Decorated specimen originally built with a low roof.

Page 383, line 22. The entire want of flying buttresses at Gloucester and in the nave of Winchester is doubtless to be attributed to the massiveness of the Romanesque walls: their very partial appearance at York, to the vaulting there being of wood. They occur in the choir of Winchester, where the roof is also of wood; perhaps the extreme lightness of the pillars and great height of the clerestory may account for both facts.

Page 386, line 10. It is remarkable that Northamptonshire, where spires and octagons of such splendour abound, has, to the best of my knowledge, only one square tower of much excellence, at least of any size. This is at Titchmarsh; it is much more massive than those in Somerset, and cannot be referred to either of the classes in the text, but for general excellence might rank with the best of them.

Page 389, line 19. It is clear that an Early Gothic Minster is incomplete without a triforium, while that feature is rigorously excluded from small churches, the anomalous character of St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, as a round church, rendering it hardly a fair exception. Yet in many large parish churches a triforium would be an improvement.

Page 434, line 20. See Whewell, p. 260.

Page 447, note. The date of the campanile at Berkeley is about 1750, when it succeeded a former one on the same spot.

ERRATA.

- Page 16, line 1, *for* voices *read* voice
 „ 59, „ 2 from bottom, *for* b yw *high read* by which
 „ 85, note ³, *for* λμην *read* λμην
 „ 97, „ 14, *after* religious *for* (;) *read* (.)
 „ 117, line 14, *for* this *read* the
 „ 158, „ 25, *for* interior; when *read* interior, where
 „ 165, „ 17, *for* Dioclesian *read* Diocletian
 „ 166, „ 13, *for* ditto *read* ditto
 „ 188, „ 24, *for* sometime *read* some time
 „ 198, „ 20, *for* being *read* having the head
 „ 213, note, *for* erected *read* inserted
 „ 221, line 1, *for* or *read* nor
 „ 234, „ 27, *after* universal *for* (.) *read* (;)
 „ 317, „ 24, *for* this *read* his

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